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CHRISTIAN BROTHERHOODS

FREDERICK DeLAND LEETE

Christian Brotherhoods

By

FREDERICK DELAND LEETE

Author of "Every Day Evangelism"

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Πάντας τιμήσατε, τὴν ἀδελφότητα ἀγαπᾶτε

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INTRODUCTION

In any competent definition of its meaning Brotherhood is a Christian product; fraternities having this spirit are either of direct Christian origin or have rooted themselves in soil which has been mellowed by Christian teaching. In no part of the world untouched by the faith of Christ has humanitarian and altruistic work been accomplished like that represented in the annals of Christian Brotherhood. "To subdue Self," said M. de Tocqueville, "is the secret of strength." Christianity not only teaches this truth, but it empowers the soul with altruistic passions which can not be satisfied without rendering offices of holy love.

The aim of this book is to give in outline an account of men's societies produced by Christian influence, whatever their denominational relations, and with reference to their avowed purposes and results rather than to the distinction of lay or clerical. This undertaking seems to be paralleled in no existing work. The Roman orders are considered in comprehensive treatises such as those of Hélyot and Heimbucher, but these volumes are somewhat out of date, and they hardly do justice to the modern conception which classifies institutions by use of the pragmatic criterion of activities and results. Secret societies and secular guilds have been quite fully considered by various authors, but their origin through Christian inspiration has been generally misstated or overlooked. Mystical societies, even more completely than monastic orders, have been lost in discussions of

the abstractions, mysticism, and monasticism. Brotherhoods of pity, of piety, and of Christian education have labored in much obscurity, and ancient and modern Church brotherhoods and auxiliary societies of Christian men have nowhere been brought together and represented as the fruits of one spirit.

An impressive lesson is learned by observing the scope of the undertakings and interests of Christian brotherhoods. No phase or relation of life has been untouched by their thought and action. They have felt all the needs, and have made to them some response. It will be a surprise to those who have not considered the matter to be brought into contact with a movement or chain of movements which has entered all the professions, which has exercised every form of talent and even of genius, and which has labored for the freedom and advancement of the various races and conditions of human life with scarcely an exception. It is no small office, to which the present effort should contribute something, to display the fraternalism of the Church in its universal and practical qualities.

The theme grows as it is studied. Unobtrusive men, intent not upon fame but upon deeds of love, have lacked reporters and trumpeters. The societies which they formed have been busy with preaching and nursing, with fighting plagues and heresies, poverty and sorrow, oppression and death, and so lowly and silent has been this self-forgetful ministry that the Church historian, mindful of ecclesiastical parliaments and prelacies, and of dogmatic strifes, has given it scant space and little praise. Even to-day the real work of Christianity, its individual and collective charities, its missions, religious teachings and evangelisms, its social relations, fraternal aids and mutual solaces, is so little known that one of the strongest arguments in behalf of the faith and one of the most powerful persuasions to Church fellowship

is greatly affected. To bring to mind the history of noble societies of Christian men, some of which have been ignored and others traduced, and to portray, even though partially and feebly, the useful activities of their brilliant leaders and of their unselfish members, may help to serve the double purpose of redeeming the past and of setting forth in better light the inner life and undertakings of the Church.

If any truth is contained in the saying, "History is philosophy teaching by example," it may be affirmed that the best methodology is the knowledge of what has been done. Moreover, "compare and contrast" is still a good law of understanding, and the modern Church will be wiser by applying this rule to the institutions of its own past. If Christian work by and for men is to succeed, it will not be by the repetition of old errors, nor by neglecting the lessons of its victories. Without a question the latest brotherhood, association, or order has much to learn from a careful study of the societies which have preceded its formation.

In this work I have not been careful to adhere closely to accurate ecclesiastical terminology, but have often employed words which refer to orders and to their institution and discipline rather in their generic than in a technical significance. Nor has the Church classification and judgment of its societies been blindly followed. It can not be hoped that no errors have been made, nor that in all cases orders have been accurately and adequately represented. The effort has been to set forth aims and plans, but to group synthetically by actual deeds, so far as these could be ascertained through independent study. Facts are stubborn things, and while institutions may often resent being valued by the standard of their achievements, in the page of history actions should speak more loudly than words. My investigations have sometimes disproved high professions, and they have quite as

often brought to light unexpected revelations of virtue. Not a few of the best expressions of fraternal love and life have in the past been consigned to obloquy by misrepresentation, and the records of Christian orders contain many errors, and some positive and demonstrable untruths. To look into these matters has afforded many a valuable lesson in the philosophy of prejudice.

One result of such a study as that from which this book has come, and to which it is hoped others may be drawn, is a new sense of the vitality and usefulness of Christian faith and principle, and together with this the mind should be deeply impressed with the thought of the value of co-operation in the direction of the divine will. Mass takes on momentum, provided sufficient power is exerted on the same side at the same time. Organization and correlation of forces have marked the periods of Christian progress, and will continue to do so. The time is ripe for a new realization of the possibilities of combinations of Churchmen, and of the direction of their energies to the highest social and religious achievements. The part which the Christian Brotherhoods have taken in the development of modern civilization, and in the propagation of Christianity and of its institutions—a work whose greatness of influence can hardly be overestimated—calls for renewed power and wisdom in undertaking still more notable conquests.

In the records even of good men and institutions some passages exist which we would fain be able to deny. Also it is true, as La Rochefoucauld says, that "we do not always like those whom we admire." Nevertheless, after closing a task which has consumed the spare time of the past ten years, and whose trail has led to many old libraries and forgotten tomes, as well as to modern sources, the writer realizes that he has had a delightful as well as an inspiring task.

For it is a thrilling story which the patient pen la-

boriously sets down, and which the silent page but dully types, of men who wrought for God and for the world's salvation. Prophets of the desert, and hermits of mountain fastnesses, knights and soldiers, saints and mystics, barefoot preachers and flaming evangelists, philosophers and philanthropists, heroes and brothers of all lands and of all ages, pass in review. They move with power; the breath of their devotion kindles the heart; a like passion seizes the lips, which are impelled to echo the cry heard down the centuries and never to cease until the final triumph of the Kingdom of Jesus Christ, "Mihi absit gloriari nisi in cruce Domini!"

The final teaching is that an essential unity underlies Christian work in its varied forms. Beneath differences of creed and scheme, of symbol and vestment, is the attempt to glorify God and to promote the happiness of men. In the work of God the soldiers Pachomius and Ignatius were brothers; so also were the mystics Florentius and Francis, the reformers Savonarola and Luther, Bénézet and Bernard, Hugh of Avalon and John of God, St. Stephen and St. Charles, Borsi, Wesley, and Sir George Williams. Now that long time has passed, these men are the treasure of the whole Church, and the record which comprises such names must in some degree serve to strengthen good fellowship between all branches of Christendom and to speed the day of Universal Brotherhood.

Christian Brotherhoods

I

THE FIRST CHURCH BROTHERHOODS

FRATERNAL SPIRIT AND MUTUAL HELPFULNESS OF EARLY CHRISTIANS

THE origin of Christian Brotherhoods is somewhat obscure. As was the case with many initial movements in Church history, the subject did not seem to be of importance until lapse of time had destroyed the records. At the beginning the whole Church was a brotherhood, as every student of the Acts of the Apostles and of the New Testament Epistles is aware. Because the infant Church was bound by a new and sacred tie, and because its members faced common difficulties and perils, a fellowship existed between them which not only led them to call each other "brother,"[1] but which gladly shared temporal possessions[2] and ministered to the wants of the needy. This it soon became necessary to do with system and discretion, which led to the appointment of certain officers of lay, or at least of not more than subclerical functions, whose duties were to serve the tables of the Church and to divide benefits physical.

[1] Latin, frater; French, frère, friar. In the Roman Church the term came to be applied to monks, and since the thirteenth century principally to the Mendicants.

[2] Acts. It was a common fund the disciples established, and not community of goods, as has been erroneously claimed. "History of Christianity," Milman, Book II, p. 368. Also, "Christianity and the Social Crisis," Rauschenbusch, pp. 120-128.

The isolation and peril of the early Christians are facts which need to be kept before the mind. At first it was necessary for the Christian organizations to elude the law restricting the formation of collegia and sodalitates. When Rome was Republican, associations could be made by citizens at will, but the empire was fearful of the political effect of such combinations, and they were permitted by Julius only within very narrow limits. Benefit clubs for the poor, mutual relief associations, alone were permitted, and for any purpose beyond that of religious ritual they were allowed to meet only monthly. The most common of these clubs were for burial purposes, but other examples were found. By the third century, and perhaps by the time of Hadrian, 130-140, the Christian communities had found it best to accommodate themselves to Roman law by enrolling themselves as benefit clubs, and the practice probably became general. These collegia tenuiorum or funeraticia proved to be a step by which organized Christianity, even while still a capital offense, could become legal, could hold property, which must be done in the name of some individual for the collegium, and could exercise its great and necessary charities. The churches became collegia, therefore, for legality rather than, as in exceptional instances, for concealment, and into the old Roman associations they brought the reality of a new and deep fraternity which the world had never previously known, and which bridged the distinction between poor and rich, and even between master and slave.[3]

That the spirit and practice of Christian brotherhood continued to be evidenced in the Church while its members were few and its cause unpopular, there can be no doubt.[4] During its early experience the Church re-

[3] In this paragraph I have followed Ramsay, W. M., "The Church in the Roman Empire;" see pp. 215, 359, 430-432, 436.

[4] "History Christian Church," Fisher, p. 59.

membered the fraternal obligations taught by Jesus and the apostles to do them. "Their Master," said Lucian in his humorous description, "has persuaded them that they are all brothers."[5] This brotherliness extended even to strangers, much to the surprise of beholders. Very soon, doubtless, certain helpful social duties were referred to women, and others were, as we have already noted, assigned to men.

The first formally organized body of Christian men having fraternal offices was formed, according to Gibbon, during the reign of the Emperor Gallienus at the time of the plague in Alexandria.[6] Binterim, however, attributed the establishment of these functionaries as a distinct order to the reign of Constantine.[7] It is probably a difference in terms, rather than in fact. The arising of the order in its practical uses may doubtless be assigned to the earlier date, even though Eusebius says that during the time of the great plague Christians generally gave themselves to fraternal service.[8]

The name of this society was the Parabolani, probably from παραβάλλειν τὴν ζωήν, to risk life,[9] or from the nature of the duty itself, παράβολον ἔργον, a hazardous office. This title, with a Latin suffix, has also been explained by reference to the παράβολοι, "dare-devils," who fought with wild beasts in the amphitheaters. The early Christians generally were sometimes called by heathen, "The Parabolani," because of their readiness for martyrdom in defense of their faith.

Scant justice has been done this society by historians. Some seem unconscious that it existed. Some are prejudiced against it on account of the later excesses of

[5] H. D. M. Spence-Jones, "The Early Christians in Rome," treats early Christianity as "the Christian Brotherhood;" e. g., pp. 88, 111, 114, 119, 121, etc.

[6] "Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire," IV. 500, note b.

[7] "Memorable Things," VI, 3, 26.

[8] "Eccl. Hist.," VII, 22.

[9] "History Christian Church," Schaff, III, 263, note 8.

fanaticism to which a part of the order degenerated. Others have evidently read but a portion of its history, and therefore give a most partial and inadequate account of its purposes and achievements.

The rise of the Parabolani was due to the prevalence of diseases, and especially of contagious diseases in Oriental lands; and to the need of helpfulness, particularly to the poorer classes, when these scourges appeared. The Parabolani were really nurses of the sick, and as such they performed offices of lowly love and deeds of heroism which are worthy of the highest honor. They were not primarily spiritual advisers, though as Christian zealots they must doubtless have sought to strengthen the faith or to awaken the religious interest of those to whom they ministered. It is to be regretted that so little note of labors of this nature is usually taken. To this fact it is probably in no small part due that false estimates have been made of the importance of an order to which many devout men gave their lives.

It is probable that the Parabolani were lay assistants to the clergy,[10] although they are sometimes ranked as an inferior clerical order.[11] They were not confined, as some have erroneously stated, to Alexandria, but spread over Egypt and Asia Minor. They were unrepresented in the West.[12] By the beginning of the fifth century their numbers in Alexandria ran into the hundreds, an edict of Theodosius II, in 416, reducing and limiting the number to five hundred; but two years later by clerical influence the limit was again raised to six hundred.[13] The corporation flourished greatly at Constantinople also, an edict about the same time deleting the

[10] Addis and Arnold.

[11] "Universal Church History," Alzog, I, 652.

[12] Schaff, "History Christian Church," III, 263; Contra, Herzog, "Schaff-Herzog Encycl."

[13] "Cod. Theod.," VI, 32.

ranks from eleven hundred to nine hundred and fifty members.[14]

A society similar to the Parabolani was that of the Copiatæ, probably from κοπιάω, to labor. Their Latin name was Fossarii, or grave-diggers. Justinian's novels call them Lecticarii, as bearers of the corpse or bier at funerals.[15] Certain writers identify this corporation with that of the Parabolani,[16] but it seems to have been a separate institution whose business it was to care for the dead and to superintend their burial. This duty was performed gratuitously in the case of the poor.[17] The foundation of the order has been attributed to Constantine, before whose time the care of the dead was a charitable service for which Christians volunteered as there was need. In Constantinople the Copiatæ formed a collegium, lands were set apart for their maintenance, and they enjoyed valuable rights and privileges. In the Theodosian code they are reckoned among the lesser clergy.[18] In some communities no tax was levied upon the products of their labor, by which means in part they received support. As the first of Christian burial guilds they are entitled to much consideration, especially if they kept to their office unseduced by the political strifes which involved the later history of the Parabolani. The latter being subject to the appointment and direction of the bishops, and being by nature enthusiasts, attached themselves to the person of their prelate and fought his battles, after a time even with carnal weapons. The excellent purpose with which their order was founded was lost sight of until the words of

[14] "Cod. Justin," I, 24.

[15] Butler, "Dict. Christian Antiq.," Smith and Cheetham.

[16] Alzog, "Universal Church History," I, 654, note 3. Smith and Cheetham credits them with the exact membership which other authorities allow the Parabolani.

[17] Bingham, iii, 8.

[18] "Clericos excipitantum, qui Copiatæ appellantur," lib. 18, tit. I. So also an ancient writing by some attributed to Jerome, de sept. ord. Ecclesiæ, tr. Pabisch & Byrne.

Baronius became the history of the society, "Ex charite officium transivit in factionem."

In the contest between Cyril and the Prefect Orestes, the Parabolani took so active part in favor of their bishop, and so disturbed Alexandria, that the emperor divorced them from ecclesiastical control and placed them under the authority of the prefect. It was at this time that their numbers were reduced by edict. Their increase was restricted to recruits from the lower classes, they were forbidden the law courts, and as a body were shut out of the games and shows of the community. These inhibitions, however, were afterward in part removed, and they were restored to episcopal superintendence. At the so-called Latrocinium, or "Robber[19] Synod" of Ephesus, A. D. 449, six hundred Parabolani were present who subscribed to the views of Eutyches and followed the lead of the brutal monk Barsumas in coercing councilors and in effecting the martyrdom of Flavian, Bishop of Constantinople. The legislation of Justinian confirming prohibitions against the appearance of the Parabolani on public occasions sufficiently indicates that when their proper duties were forgotten for the struggles of ecclesiastical partisanship they became dangerous to the State as well as to the Church.

In all just estimates of men and of institutions account must be made of opportunities and environment. Remembering the character of the age in which the Parabolani lived, their ecclesiastical government and dependence, as well as the fierce temptations to which they were subjected, their later ambition, restlessness, and even violence are accounted for. Meanwhile their offices of mercy and benevolence must not be overlooked or forgotten. Their duties were certainly of great importance, and that such works be performed as often

[19] The odious name does not justify the assumption that this Council was evil above all others. "History Latin Christianity," Milman, I, 286.

as possible, and certainly for the very poor, in the name of the Church, is not only in harmony with the spirit of Christianity, but is directly related to its interests. Well would it be for the Christian Church of to-day if the care of the needy and sick and the burial of the dead were not so often left to secular societies or to the fitful philanthropy of individuals. In a systematic way the serious crises in the lives of men should all be met by adequate provision on the part of organized Christianity, evidence being thus given to all beholders of the reality of Christian affection. Through whatever societies of any communion the offices of the Parabolani and of the Copiatæ are in any wise fulfilled according to the needs of the age, their example has been fruitful, and their seduction, errors, and overthrow are avenged. A more careful study of the history of these societies, with a resulting better understanding of all that relates to their usefulness and their limitations, would recover to the Church one of its dimly remembered chapters of helpfulness, and even of heroism, while it would also afford valuable lessons concerning the influence of their worldly environment upon the early Christians and the causes of the ruin which befell many of them.

II

ASCETICS AND THEIR SOCIETIES

PAUL THE HERMIT TO AUGUSTINE

It will occasion no surprise that monachism should be reviewed in this work, when it is remembered that the Christian monastic orders were originally not only Church brotherhoods, but societies of laymen. During their early history ecclesiastics were rarely to be found among them, for some time a single priest being the utmost allowance for each monastery.

In this account no mention will be made of independent and adjunct societies of women, whose history seems to be traceable to the earliest date to which we can definitely assign organizations composed exclusively of men.

Monachism had been long known when Christianity appeared,[1] but its greatest development has been in the Christian Church. "India," says Wishart, "is thought by some to have been the birthplace of the institution. In the sacred writings of the venerable Hindûs, portions of which have been dated as far back as 2400 B. C., there are numerous legends about holy monks, and many ascetic rules."

The primary conception on which this form of life is based was common among both ancient Jews and pagans. It may be studied in the select fraternity of Pythagoras, and it almost approaches the Christian form in the Essenes, Stoics, and Theraputæ. Germs of Christian

[1]Ruffner gives much space in Vol. I, "Fathers of the Desert," to pre-Christian monasticism.

monasticism are traced to the earliest period of Church history, and in the second century we find isolated ascetics. Origen near the middle of the third century describes their austerities, saying that, like the disciples of Pythagoras, they always abstained from flesh.[3] As we study the rise of monasticism to prominence in the third and fourth centuries, the causes of its successful appeal seem to have been somewhat complex. Among the most efficient were perhaps the Oriental tendency to retirement and asceticism, the influence of the Neo-Platonic doctrine of intellectual purification by physical abstention, and especially reaction from the social luxury and administrative weakness evidenced in the period of the decadence of the empire, and in the Church as soon as the rapid progress of Christianity brought in large numbers of merely nominal converts. Monastic orders flourished most greatly in times of social disorder, and were never so widely popular in a healthful national life.

From the first, monachism was divided into the two great branches of anchorets, who sought in complete isolation from their fellows a closer union of soul with the Deity, and cenobites, who aimed at presenting to the world the example of a sanctified community. The latter type came to prevail, although hermits have not even as yet entirely disappeared.

Very probably, as a learned Orientalist teaches, Christian monasticism had an early origin in Syria. The Syriac language is rich in words for monks and nuns, having terms for Cenobite, Anchorite, Eremite, and Stylite. In Syriac ecclesiastical literature occurs the term *bar Q'yâmâ*, "Son of the Covenant," which may at first have been applied to all baptized laity, who were pledged to strict continence and to freedom from worldly cares. When Christianity became no

[3] "Origen," Book 5, p. 264.

longer a proscribed sect, but a religion acknowledged by the State, the younger Christians married and were conformed to the conduct of ordinary life: "the older fashioned *B'nai Q'yâmâ* still continued; but they now became a sort of monastic order in the community, instead of the community itself."[3] However one may view this account of its Syriac origin, the early development of the monastic life in the East must be undoubted.

It was not a united order, but a class of independent ascetics, known as Monks of the Thebaid, which was founded by Paul the Hermit about 250 A. D. Born of wealthy parents, denounced to the authorities by his brother-in-law as being a Christian, he fled to the desert and established himself in a cavern shaded by palm trees, where he remained till his death, which occurred, according to Jerome, 342 A. D., when he was in his one hundred and thirteenth year. He did not gather disciples, and it was only by his example that he became a founder of monasticism, and especially by the influence of his life upon Anthony, his successor, and the first noted hermit by choice. The latter was born of wealthy Christian parents at Coma, Upper Egypt, and was left at eighteen years of age with a large fortune and but a fair education,[4] which, however, included some knowledge of the Scriptures. One day, hearing the gospel read, "Go and sell that thou hast and give to the poor, and come and follow Me," he took it as spoken to him personally. He went home, sold his possessions and distributed them to his neighbors, save for

[3] "Early Eastern Christianity," F. Crawford Burkitt, p. 128 ff.

[4] Butler, "Lives of the Saints," Vol. I, says, "He grew up unacquainted with any branch of human literature." This seems exaggerated, though less so than St. Austin's supposition that Anthony could not even read. The basis for such notions is Athanasius's saying that Anthony in his childhood never applied himself to the study of letters γράμματα μαθεῖν. See "Life of St. Anthony," by Athanasius, a work whose genuineness was disputed by Rivetus, Du Pin, and later by Winegarten, but which is not rejected by the best authorities. Tillemont shows by probable arguments that Anthony knew Coptic. Mem. Eccles. See Gibbon, "Decline and Fall," III, 522, and note 8.

a small sum for the support of his sister. Then he betook himself to a solitary life beside the Nile, and afterwards near Mt. Kolzim on the banks of the Red Sea, spending his time in manual labor, prayer, and religious reading. He was much tempted of the devil, especially with impure imaginations, but by humility, prayer, and watchfulness he conquered the evil one and his assaults. His food was bread with a little salt, and he drank only water. For nearly twenty years he rarely saw a human being. Then he was much sought for as a miracle worker and as a teacher. Around his name grew up a host of legends, both sensible and fantastic. He seems to have been a shrewd and witty antagonist of those who came to overwhelm him with their learning,[5] and his life and example soon brought many followers. It is said that his first monastery was founded about 305 and consisted of scattered cells near the confines of Upper and Middle Egypt. These institutions increased rapidly.

Twice Anthony returned to civilization; in 311, to encourage the Church of Alexandria during the persecution under Maximin; and in 335, when, at the request of Athanasius, he visited Alexandria to preach against the Arians. St. Anthony drew to himself many disciples and made the solitary life honorable and popular. Jerome declared "Hujus vitæ auctor Paulus, illustrator etiam Antonius." While he was himself an anchoret like Paul of Thebes, the fame of his virtues brought many to his cell and gave rise to the coenobium with its principle of life-in-common.

The soldier Pachomius, converted to Christ in the army, further developed the cenobitic life among Chris-

[5] One of his apt replies, contained in "Socrates Hist. Eccl.," Book IV, seems to dispute the notion of his absolute illiteracy, while revealing his contempt for human wisdom. A philosopher said, "How can you live without the consolation of books?" "My books, O philosopher," said Anthony, "is the nature of things created; and I can readily, when I will, read the word of God."

tians, establishing an institution on the island of Tabenna in the Nile. The materials for a biography of Pachomius are exceedingly scanty.[6] What purports to be a contemporary account by a monk of Tabenna says that he was born to a wealthy pagan family in Lower Egypt, and that in his youth he served under Constantine in his successful campaign against Maxentius. The kindness of Christians attracted him to religion, and he gave himself to a life of sanctity and self-restraint, acquiring a wide reputation for holiness. "It is said he never ate a full meal after his conversion, and for fifteen years slept sitting on a stone."[7]

St. Anthony never formulated a rule, but the rule of the Tabennites, whose foundation is dated at 320 A. D., is given in the "Historia Lausiaca" of Palladius and, as modified by Basil the Great[8] some half century later, became the permanent form of Oriental monachism, the Acoemeti, or "sleepless" monks, of the fifth century being the sole exception in the Eastern Church. The three vows of chastity, poverty, and obedience were adopted, and became the foundation stones of monasticism. The Tabennites occupied cells clustered into a laura, which had a common place for meals and for other assemblies. Work and food were appointed to each inmate, and a uniform dress was adopted, a close linen tunic being covered with a white goatskin not to be laid aside for meals or bed, but solely at the Eucharist, where the hood was worn and the tunic was uncovered. Twenty-four groups lettered by the Greek alphabet represented the various intellectual and spiritual attainments of the members, the lowest group being that of ι, the simplest letter; and the highest be-

[6] Such certain facts as exist and their sources are enumerated in "The Rise of Christian Monasticism," I. Gregory Smith, pp. 243-7.

[7] "Monks and Monasteries," A. W. Wishart, p. 58.

[8] His rule was confirmed by Pope Liberius in 363.

ing ξ, the most complicated. The groups were subdivided under leaders subject to the abbot, who when the movement extended was himself under the superior of the mother-house. A steward managed finances, and the steward of Tabenna supervised the accounts of other treasurers. Meals were frugal and were eaten in silence, save as lections might be recited from the Bible. Twice daily there was common prayer, and communion was received on Saturday and Sunday. There was a three-years' probation for postulants. Before the founder died he had in his own coenobium fourteen hundred monks, while seven thousand altogether obeyed his authority. Hilarion, Ephraem Syrus, Basil the Great, and even Athanasius bore the rule to foreign parts. By the fifth century some seventy-five thousand men in Egypt alone were the votaries of this institution. It acquired power in the Western Church also, continuing its hold until displaced by the institute of Benedict.

The Basilian monks chiefly belong to the history of the Greek Church. They early became very numerous, but many of their converts were dispersed during the iconoclast persecutions of the eighth century. The order comprises priests, lay brothers, cenobites, cellites, and hermits in solitudes. The term Caloyers, or Calogeri (καλάγεροι), good old men, is generally given to Greek monks. Russia has been the place of chief extension of the Basilian Order. The Ruthenians of Austria-Hungary and Poland are communities of the same foundation, which was represented in Italy and in Spain till 1835. Among other orders following the rule of St. Basil are the Melchites of Libanus, the Bartholomites[9] of the Armenian rites, named from St. Bartholomew's Church, Genoa, where they centered for three and a half centuries to 1659. A very few Basilians have been

[9] The same name was borne by an order instituted in Germany in 1640 by Bartholomew Holzhauser, and which spread to Hungary, Poland, and Spain, but which did not survive.

domiciled in the United States, and in a modern community house in Toronto, Canada. In its later history Oriental monachism was instrumental in keeping national spirit and religion alive in Russia and Greece during times of oppression.

On the whole, Greek monachism is mainly important on account of the individual ascetics whom it produced. These men knew little or nothing of justification by faith or of the deeper work and cleansing of the Holy Spirit, but they displayed the most ardent enthusiasm for righteousness. The genius of Tennyson has forever placed one of them in the admiration of the world. Simeon Stylites, or Simeon the Pillar Saint, was a shepherd's son in Asia Minor. He lived in the first half of the first century, and early entered a monastery, where he was much too austere to suit his superiors. Being angry at him for his self-tortures, one day the abbot ordered him stripped, when it was found that he had taken a piece of the well-rope and wound it about his body until it had become buried in his flesh. Removing the rope with great difficulty, and healing his sores, he sent the zealous youth away to become famous for his piety and self-tortures. Soon his imaginative spirit hit upon the scheme which gave him his name. For thirty years he lived upon the top of a column, braving heat and cold, moisture and sunshine, taking food but once a week and bowing his head to his feet many times daily, while about the base of the pillar kings and peasants knelt to do homage and to ask the saint's blessing. In a rude and selfish age this life of self-immolation produced a miraculous effect, and even savages were moved thereby to give up their idolatries for the Christian sacrament. However fanatical they may be, personal sacrifices are never absurd, nor can they fail to impress the selfish and sinful. For the sake of such characters one would like to forgive Eastern monachism

that, as Montalembert points out, in spite of its examples of righteousness it ultimately yielded to the pressure of its environment and regenerated nothing.[10]

The rise of monachism in the Western Church was due to the Life of St. Anthony, brought to Rome in 340 by Athanasius[11] and presented as a noble example to those Christians who, both as devotees and as patriots, grieved over the widespread social degeneracy of the times. The imagination of Christendom was touched and a great number of establishments sprang up, as a whole far less inclined than in the East to abstraction or to extreme asceticism. Hard and continuous labor was probably both the result of and in turn was contributory to the Western monks' more practical temper. Among the names which are identified with the formative and purest period of Occidental monachism are Eusebius of Vercelli; Ambrose, "clarum et venerabile nomen;" the distinguished scholar, Jerome; Chrysostom, the Christian Cicero; Martin of Tours, and Augustine, the great Latin father, who in Africa in the fourth century instituted the class of hermits who later were known as Augustinians.

St. Augustine was born at Tagaste, Numidia, in 354. His father, Patricius, was a pagan; but Monica, his mother, was a Christian, who lovingly taught her son the precepts of her faith.[12] Yet for many years the pure life and teachings of his mother exerted little influence upon the youth. He devoted himself to pleasure and fell into grievous sin. It was intended that he should become a rhetorician, and he went to Carthage

[10] Montalembert, "Monks of the West," Vol. I, Book 2, p. 220.

[11] This eminent theologian and conqueror of the Arian heresy was really a man of deep sympathy with saintly character and deeds. He was an intimate friend of Anthony. "Saint Athanasius," Bush, chapter xxiv, "His Character as a Man."

[12] "It was said of Monica, St. Augustine's mother, that twice a day she came to the house of God, and would not have omitted her oblation at the altar, though a lion and a dragon stood in her path." "The Life of George Herbert," Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, p. 264.

to prepare himself for this profession, where he fell into philosophical speculations, becoming for nine years a disciple of the heretical sect of the Manichees, but at length he discovered their error and left them. In 383 Augustine went to Rome, and thence to Milan, where he was to teach rhetoric. There he heard and met Ambrose, whose eloquent discourses, together with his own studies in the Scriptures and some examples of true conversion to which his attention was drawn, led him to embrace the Christian faith, and entirely transformed his life. After his conversion,[13] about 386, he returned to Africa, sold his estate, gave the proceeds, save for a moderate support, to the poor, and lived for three years a retired life, giving himself to profound study and to writing. Then he began to preach with extraordinary success, and in a few years became Bishop of Hippo, spending the remainder of his life in devoted labors.

At the beginning of his work at Hippo he set up a monastic establishment[14] and he laid down rules for the conduct of monks, whether or not he ever formulated a complete rule. His instructions were superseded by those of Benedict, but were resuscitated in the time of Charlemagne and are found in the Austin Canons of the eleventh century.[15] The Canons and Hermits of St. Augustine both claim the Bishop of Hippo as their founder. Martin Luther was a member of the Hermits.

It will be seen by the facts already given that monachism was established by men of high Christian character—of sincere piety, joined to deep mystical tendencies. Its principle was the annihilation of individualism that men might be wholly possessed by God. Celibacy was to prevent attachment to one's fellows; poverty was to prevent attachment to temporal goods;

[13] "Historical Sketches," Newman, chapter viii, is a most discriminating account of Augustine's conversion.

[14] "Monastic Life," Allies, p. 63.

[15] "Monks and Monasteries," Wishart, p. 118.

obedience was to prevent self-attachment. The strength and weakness of this philosophy is apparent, and one can easily understand how both the best and most aspiring souls and the laziest and most selfish were drawn to the standards raised. Gross evils soon crept into all monastic institutions, but these should not lead us to forget the high aims and lofty character of the founders. The close of the early Christian period found the religious communities which had been independently established in the Western Church in a state of growing disorder.[16]

Not a few thoughtful men even in that early age were hostile to the principles underlying monasticism. Neander compares with the great reformer himself one Jovinian, who disputed the teaching that any merit is to be found in celibacy, fasting, or poverty. He objected to saint and relic worship, and declared that a Christian might retain his property and make good use of it. Jovinian was condemned as a heretic at Milan 390 A. D., but the emperors, both Christian and pagan, sought to restrain the increasing emigration to places of seclusion, while the stoutest defenders of the monks were compelled to admit the fact that gross evils had appeared among them. Many were lazy and dissolute. "Shaven heads lied to God." Jerome, Ambrose, Augustine sought to cure the immorality which existed, but vice and virtue remained in close proximity until deadly diseases spread themselves. From 450 A. D. there was for half a century an almost total loss of monastic vigor. It was evident to all that some general discipline was needed. This was furnished in a new rule which inaugurated the mediæval type of monachism.

[16] For the miserable state of Europe at this time see the hint in "The Monastic Life," Allies, p. 120. Woodhouse, "Monasticism," pp. 67-70, describes the condition into which the monks had fallen.

III

RISE OF MEDIÆVAL BROTHERHOODS

BENEDICT TO CLUNY. REFORMED ORDERS.

If with Hallam we regard the Middle Ages as opening with the sixth and ending with the sixteenth century, we find that this period began with a remarkable movement in the history of religious orders. There was certainly need enough of a fresh beginning. At the close of the fifth century Europe was in a most deplorable state. Corruption and confusion had laid hold of every form of life. All that was most valuable: art, science, authority, even religion,[1] seemed destined to irretrievable ruin.

For these conditions no remedy was visible in the brotherhoods. They were without discipline or coherence, and apparently had entered upon a permanent decline. Especially had the Oriental asceticism no adaptation to Western needs, and without some new and remarkable influence monasticism would perish.

This influence came from a cave at Subiaco, forty miles west of Rome, where had fled in 494 a youth of fourteen, the last scion of the lords of the Sabine Nursia, surrendering fortune and fame, and seeking to escape sin and to give himself up to holiness. His scanty food was supplied by stealth from the pittance of Romanus, an inmate of the nearby monastery, and was let down the precipitous cliff on which the building stood by a rope to which a bell was attached that he might be aware

[1] Hallam, "The Beginning of the Middle Ages," Ch. 52. Also Montalembert, IV, 3.

of its coming. Once, it is said, the devil broke the rope,[2] but he could not thwart the inventive friendliness of the good monk.

In the quiet and darkness of his grotto and its environment the youth passed a number of years, on occasion conquering the evil propensities of the flesh by rolling naked in the briers and thorns near his cave mouth.[3] When some shepherds discovered him, clad in a coarse sheep-skin, they began by mistaking him for a wild beast, and ended by seeking his counsel as a saintly teacher. The spot where Benedict passed his novitiate became a shrine. To visit it became a favorite pilgrimage,[4] and it has been regarded as the cradle of later monasticism.

The foundation of the Benedictine Order in the sixth century, the Clunian Reform of the eleventh, the appearance of the Mendicant Orders in the thirteenth, the foundation of the Society of Jesus in the sixteenth, have been described[5] as the four great landmarks in the history of Western monasticism. Evidently the point of view is the history of monastic reforms, whose first and greatest leader was Benedict. No sooner was his sanctity discovered than his ability was recognized, and though he was so austere in his first office as superior of the Monastery of Vicovarro that the inmates sought to poison him,[6] yet when he abdicated and retired to his beloved cavern he was soon surrounded by a multitude of voluntary disciples by whose aid he founded twelve monasteries. About 530 A. D. he removed to Monte Casino, on whose precipitous eminence

[2] Milman, "History of Latin Christianity," III, VI, 25.

[3] S. Gregor.

[4] Petrarch, who visited Subiaco, says, "Illud numane et devotum specus, quod qui viderunt vidisse quod ammodo Paradisi limen credunt."

[5] Harnack, "Monasticism," V, 65.

[6] It is recorded that he made the sign of the cross over the vessel containing the poison, and it was miraculously broken. Gregor., "Dial.," ii, 3.

he created the most famous of monastic institutions, transforming a very ancient temple of Apollo into a place of Christian prayer, and composing here his celebrated rule,[7] destined to replace all its predecessors throughout Europe, a result which was virtually accomplished by the seventh century.

The site of the cradle of Occidental monasticism, and for thirteen hundred years the capitol of the Benedictines, impresses the traveler with a greatness of its own, which the glory of the surrounding prospect but serves to heighten. "Here is the most ancient and illustrious monastery in Christendom, the home of a society whose history, whose members, whose wealth, learning, and literary treasures and whose numerous progeny give it a singular eminence."[8] It is thought that perhaps it was the very flavor of Paganism still lingering about the place which attracted Benedict to this seat of power, as indeed under him it became. The land belonged to the father of Placidus, one of the young scions of wealthy families sent to be near the founder, to whom he gave it.[9] The success which attended the settlement here Dante causes Benedict himself to declare, truly if somewhat boastfully:

> That mountain on whose slope Casino stands
> Was frequented of old, upon its summit,
> By a deluded folk and ill disposed;
> And I am he who first up thither bore
> The name of him who brought upon the earth
> The truth that so much sublimateth us.
> And such abundant grace upon me shone,
> That all the neighboring towns I drew away
> From the impious worship that seduced the world.[10]

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[7] Mabillon thinks the original copy to have been made by Benedict himself at Monte Cassino about 528 A. D., Reg. S. Bened. The autograph copy of the rule was destroyed at the time of the Saracen spoliation, 884.

[8] "Cities of Our Faith," Caldwell, pp. 152-3.

[9] Guizot, "Hist. Civil.," II, p. 73.

[10] Caldwell, op. cit., p. 155.

It has been usual to describe the Benedictine Order as requiring the severest type of life, and judging by modern standards this would seem to be true. However, plain as appear the articles concerning food and lodging, tested by our ideas, they permitted greater abundance of the necessaries of life than was then common to the middle and lower classes from whom the order was largely recruited. Strict obedience, temperance, and chastity were required, but the ascetic rigors of Eastern rules were softened. The members of the brotherhood were considered as children to be carefully and particularly legislated for as to all matters of conduct and even of spirit, Benedict, like Wesley and all lovers of order and system, directing as to the most trivial matters, usually with a sincerely benevolent and considerate purpose. To plain living was joined high thinking. A portion of the day was to be devoted to study, the founder specifying only the study of the Scriptures and the writings of the Fathers, but establishing a principle which by the influence of Cassiodorus, his contemporary, bore glorious fruits in learning and in literature. Prayer was a regular exercise of the life exacted, but it is especially the honor of the Benedictine Order that it ennobled labor. Through military influences all kinds of toil had sunk into dishonor, and Benedict performed no greater service than that of teaching the men of his day how holy an occupation is work sanctified by prayer. This lesson the world has never wholly forgotten. A monk's day was one round of busy employments; manual, mental, and spiritual devotions keeping him in constant activity. The result was health, usefulness, and power. The Benedictines flourished, cultivated wide fields,[11] and absorbed all rivals, at first by the spread of their principles, but later by submission to the direction of Rome—a policy which, though it

[11] Montalembert, "Monks of the West," II, 67.

brought its advantages, finally involved the society in the general fortunes of the Church.

For a long time, however, the Benedictine monk was an efficient promoter of civilization and of Christianity unto regions difficult and dangerous. "Moreover it was he who, in his cloister, with the incessant din of arms about him, preserved and transcribed ancient manuscripts, both Christian and pagan, and who recorded his observations of current events, thus giving us the best materials we now possess for the history of remote times."[12] Later a widespread weakening of Christianity injured all its branches, including even the strongest. At length it appeared as if monasticism in the Western Church had run its course; it seemed to have fallen like a spent arrow to the ground, whence the strong arm of Benedict had impelled it. "It had become worldly, and vulgarly worldly, not by a hair's breadth higher than the world at large. In the tenth century pope, Church, and monastery alike seemed to have reached the last stage of decrepitude."[13]

The evil that befell the Benedictines as well as that which came upon even more renowned successors is bemoaned by the founder in the vision of Dante. After lamenting that walls which once were an abbey are become a den of robbers, he exclaims:

> The flesh of mortals is so very soft,
> That good beginnings down below suffice not
> From springing of the oak to bearing acorns.
> Peter began with neither gold nor silver,
> And I with orison and abstenance,
> And Francis with humility his convent.
> And if thou lookest at each one's beginning,
> And then regardest whither he has run,
> Thou shalt behold the white turned into brown.[14]

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[12] "Mediæval History," Stille, p. 339.
[13] Harnack, "Monasticism," VI, 81.
[14] "Paradiso," Longfellow's Tr. Canto XXII, p. 564.

Such woe as this is not reserved for heaven alone. How many a pure heart has lived long enough on earth to mourn the failure of his institution.

The Clunian reformation of monastic life came just in time to save it from extinction. This movement was in the nature of a federation and general discipline of all monasteries. Its beginnings were laid in the ninth century by the union attempted and partially attained under the direction of Saint Benedict of Aniane, but an effective central organization was not accomplished until the eleventh century, when Cluny, founded by Duke William of Acquitaine in 910 to the honor of St. Peter and St. Paul, and on the basis of the Benedictine rule, became the one great monastery and a vast number of others were made dependent. Up to this time the monasteries had been under control of the bishop; now the abbot of Cluny appointed all the superiors of the other institutions, and the term "Order" could be properly applied to monastic societies,[15] its use with reference to the earlier societies being a modern and inexact description, yet having, of course, some justification. In the next century Peter the Venerable was the recognized authority in two thousand dependent monasteries.[16] The life of the monks was strictly regulated. Silence, with communication by signs, characterized most of the time, and obedience ruled. Hospitality and charity were constantly exemplified. Poor and strangers usually exceeded the number of the monks."[17] Abbot Odilo exhausted the storehouse, and even melted the sacred vessels, to succor the needy during famine. Later, wealth and prosperity rewarded early goodness with the usual result, but meantime the strong combination effected under Clunian discipline revived and extended the strength of all monastic institutions.

[15] John R. Meader, Ed. "American Almanac."
[16] "Age of Hildebrand," Vincent, p. 16.
[17] "Hist. of Christian Church," Schaff, IV, p. 369.

CHRISTIAN BROTHERHOODS

Among the new societies which sprang up during the period of this quickening of interest was the Carthusian Order, formed by St. Bruno about 1086 near Grenoble, France. With six comrades, Bruno, inspired to the deed by the open contempt of his bishop for piety and religion, established in a wilderness of naked, precipitous rocks and of sterile hills[18] the famous Grand Chartreuse, a monastery which for the first half century had no written rules, and was for some time unconnected with other monasteries. The first name of the brothers is said to have been "Poor of Christ."[19] The monks were to have no intercourse with the world, and little with one another. No woman was allowed to set foot within the precincts, "knowing as we do," said Dom Guigo, "that neither wise man, nor prophet, nor judge, nor the entertainer of God, nor the sons of God, nor the first created of mankind fashioned by God's own hands, could escape the wiles and deceits of woman."[20] The rule of the Carthusians, at least until amended in 1582, was the most rigorous of all followed in monastic institutions. Not only fasting, but blistering and bleeding, were used to aid in conquering evil affections. There were many other austerities: the wearing of hair shirts, abstinence from flesh meat, and similar devices to conquer passion; but the founder loved letters and taught his associates zeal for science and learning. The brothers were required to do manual labor and to transcribe ancient documents and important records of the time. The original monastery was in the hands of the Carthusian Order for eight hundred years, until 1903, when the French Government dispossessed it with mo-

[18] Thomas Gray visited the place and wrote in the album of the monastery an Alcaic Ode, contained in his poetical works with life by Mitford, p. 198, and which describes the scenery—

"Per invias rupes, fera per juga
Clivosque praeruptos, nemorumque noctem."

[19] "The Somerset Carthusians," Thompson, p. 5.

[20] "Monks and Monasteries," Wishart, p. 190.

nastic houses generally. The strictness of this society prevented great popularity,[21] but it produced some noted representatives, including Hugh of Avalon, "in his relations with Henry II and Cœur de Lion," says Ruskin, "to my mind the most sacerdotal figure known to me in history." Born and reared during the enthusiasm of the Crusades, his father, having divided his castles and personal property among his other children, took Hugh at eight years of age with him into the Priory of Villarbenoit, where the lad was brought up with a severity which would have turned the average child from all goodness. He was flogged for the least delinquency, and was not allowed to laugh. "Little Hugh," his father would say, "I am bringing thee up for Christ. Joking is not for thee." In spite of these oppressions the lad, "dear to God and man," eagerly absorbed the sweetness of heavenly doctrines, became proficient in religious knowledge, and grew up modest, courteous, and strong. A visit to La Grande Chartreuse inspired in the youth a desire to practice the austerities and to join the company of that order. He found it the aim of both the ecclesiastics and lay-brethren "to maintain strict poverty, to throw aside all superfluities, and to forget all temporal matters in the contemplation of heavenly prospects," and to the infinite sorrow of the prior of Villarbenoit, who declared that to lose him was like giving up the light of his eyes,[22] he joined this body. He became a model of prayer and piety, and retained such humility that he refused election as bishop of Lincoln, only accepting the place after a second vote as an act of obedience. In his high office Hugh proved to be firm and incorruptible. Worldly rank was vanity to him, and king's favors nothing. His justice and charity to all men became widely famed, and it is said that when

[21] "English Monastic Life," Gasquet, p. 222.

[22] "Magna Vita, S. Hugonis."

in 1200 he died, not only Christians but Jews thronged his funeral, and the latter were loud in their sorrow for the removal of one who in a time when they were despised and rejected dared to show them Christlike love. It may be that there was another side of the character of this man which has not been represented in his biography, but it can hardly be disputed that he stands among his contemporaries as a shining example of gentle yet fearless virtue. To have attracted, held, and developed one such character as this is honor enough for any brotherhood. Yet our attention is now drawn to another reforming order, and to an even more distinguished hero of faith and of righteousness.

The Cistercian Order[23] was founded by Robert of Molesme,[24] and refounded by Stephen Harding, an Englishman resident in France, who was its lawgiver and who for twenty-five years ruled its affairs. The foundation was due to a reaction in the minds of part of the Benedictines of Molesme against the relaxations which riches and power had brought into their institution. In the year 1098 they removed to Citeaux, in Burgundy, and in a wild solitude they constructed their new home of piety out of the trunks of trees which they felled for this purpose. Duke Odo, learning of their work, inquired into it and gave them aid, and adopting a white garb in place of the black habit of the Benedictines, they took upon themselves strict observance of the Rule of St. Benedict, and were especially devoted to the ideals of unity and charity. They prospered, and though there

[23] An appreciative account of the separation of twenty-one monks, including the abbot, prior, and sub-prior, from the Benedictine community at Molesme, and who sought to form a stricter religious observance, is found in "History of the Cistercian Order," chapter i. The author is a monk of the Cistercians.

[24] The chief source for his life is Sirius. "Origines Cisterciensium," Alexander Prize Essay, Mason, Trans. Royal Hist. Soc., New Series XIX, p. 169 ff, is a carefully wrought account of the beginnings of the Cistercian movement.

had been no intention of establishing a new order, other foundations were soon made, all being under the government of Citeaux and free from local episcopal jurisdiction. The Cistercians benefited society by devotion to agriculture, literature, and charity. Until the middle of the fourteenth century growth and religious earnestness were marked. At this time, however, a decline occurred which was due to the usual causes and which required later reformations.

The most famous of the Cistercians, and a shining figure in all Christian history, is Bernard of Clairvaux. Born in Burgundy at his father's castle of Fontaines near Dijon, in 1091, he may have been named for his maternal grandfather, Bernard, feudal lord of Mont Bar. His father, Tescelin, or Tesselin, was a wealthy knight who followed the Duke of Burgundy; his mother, Alith (Alethe, or Aletta), was a woman of ability. Both Knight Tesselin[25] and his wife were devout and zealous Christians, living the life in which they believed, and possessing much moral courage.[26] In the earliest recollections of the child Bernard may have been the general enthusiasm and widespread migration of the First Crusade, carrying away so many thousands who never returned, and among whom was the great feudal lord whom his father served. The youth and early manhood of the boy were spent in the midst of the most vivid scenes, attended with the strongest emotions. At school the lad made rapid progress, was thoughtful and obe-

[25] "Recordatus autem vir venerabilis Tesselinus timoris Dei, et judiciorum divinorum." Opera S. Bern, Vol. II, Col. 1282.

[26] The tale of Tesselin's refusal to be drawn into a personal combat indicates both the strength of his character, and his good reputation for fearlessness. "Mindful of the Golden Rule, though the more skillful of the two in the use of weapons, and expecting the victory which would bring him large advantage, he made peace with his adversary and relinquished all that had been in dispute." "Bernard of Clairvaux," Storrs, p. 139. "In that stern time," says Morison, "Life and Times of St. Bernard," p. 3, "when force was generally law, a man must have been very sure both of his courage and piety to act thus."

dient, and was careful to keep his boyhood pure.[27] The death of his mother, just as he was passing into youth, profoundly impressed his mind, while it left him free to choose his own career. He might follow his father as a knight and soldier; he might select letters, this temptation being strong; he does give himself to religion. To this step Bernard was moved by the image of his mother as well as by his Lord's Spirit. He was riding to join his brothers who were besieging a castle, when a vision of his mother's disapproval checked him. To a church by the wayside he betook himself to weep and to pray, and there his life was ordered for him. From all save the service of God he turned his face. In the first zeal of his conversion Bernard hastened like another Andrew to persuade his brothers to join him in his Christian purpose, and to his great pleasure they consented, even Gerard, the brilliant and wise soldier, at length being won over, as well as his uncle, the Lord of Touillon, and the child Nivard, youngest of the family. How splendid this evidence of the mingled ardor and love of the man, and of the respect in which he was held by his kin!

In 1112 Bernard entered the Order of Citeaux, and in this step he was followed by thirty young nobles, including four brothers. Up to this time the little community had not prospered,[28] but the new accession brought vigor to the dying body, which grew until it seemed wise to swarm into a new place. In 1115 another colonization occurred, and this time, in spite of his youth, Bernard was made leader of the new movement. With twelve companions he went to a valley in

[27] "Omnibus benignus et gratus, domi simplex et quietus, foris rarus, et ultra quam credi posset verecundus; unsquam multum loqui amans, Deo devotus, ut puram sibi pueritiam suam conservaret." "Vita S. Bern," i, Col. 2408.

[28] Abbot Stephen's message to Jesus Christ, sent by a dying monk by whom he stated the plight of Citeaux by reason of the age and death of its members and asked for aid, is simply told. "S. Bernard," Sparrow-Simpson, p. 18.

the province of Langres, known as the Valley of Wormwood, and in this wilderness, where the earnest monks were to endure great privations and trials of courage and faith, he established the Bernardines in the famous cloister of Clairvaux. From this center the ardor and virtue of Bernard exercised a powerful influence throughout Europe. He arbitrated between rival popes,[29] measured swords with the tyranny of nobles, produced mystical writings of the most exalted nature, defended apostolic doctrine, and preached the second crusade. He fearlessly attacked abuses and evil-doers. His messages to princes and to popes indicate a sincere and truthful spirit, and his presence and personality were powerful. He was a steadfast advocate of monachism, founding in different European provinces one hundred and sixty-three religious settlements, and bringing large companies into their membership.[30] He died in his sixty-third year, and was the first Cistercian canonized by the Church. His latter days were saddened by the failure of his crusade, which began so auspiciously that it almost depopulated many cities and towns of Germany, but which failed to accomplish its end in Syria, it is said by reason of the treachery of Christian nobles. Bernard received much blame for the loss of so many men and so much treasure, and about the same time he discovered traitors in his own order, who made unjust use of his name and, when discovered, uttered calumnies against him.[31] His memory survives the sayings of detractors, however, and he is praised by all branches of

[29] "Life and Times of St. Bernard," Morison, pp. 162-175. Vigorous account of Bernard's defense of the rights of Innocent II against Anacletus.

[30] "Cistercian Legends," tr. by Henry Collins, p. 7, gives an instance, not improbably correct, of the persuasive power of Bernard in inducing worldly-minded men to assume the religious habit.

[31] Ratisbonne, American Ed., p. 447ff, gives the story of the incredible perfidy of Nicholas, Bernard's secretary, who stole his master's seal and used it in important documents. When detected he traduced the good man who had trusted him.

the Church. Luther says of him, "If there ever lived on earth a God-fearing and holy monk, it was Saint Bernard of Clairvaux." A modern writer declares Bernard to have been "one of the purest realizations of Christian principle which has ever appeared in human flesh and blood."[32] He also quotes a contemporary of Bernard, who says, "He was one to whom many miracles were attributed, but the greatest miracle which he displayed was himself."

It is sad to note that an order which could produce a character of whom such tributes as these may be considered to be even approximately just, was after a time given over to sensuality, pride, avarice, and strife. Monasticism has never long remained pure, and the Cistercian order from the first contained weak and unworthy members, who increased in numbers. At last reforms were imperative, and they were variously attempted by Dom Martin de Vargas, who in 1425 founded at Monte Sion, near Toledo, the Congregation of the Observance of St. Bernard of Spain, by John de la Barriere, who in 1563 organized the Congregation of the Feuillants, and by a number of others whose improvements were more or less genuine and successful.

"But the most celebrated, if not the most extensive, reformation of the Cistercian Order was affected by John le Bouthillier de Rancé."[33] This worldly nobleman had come into possession of the income of many monasteries,[34] among them that of Grande Trappe, in Normandy. Feeling weary of his gay life, about 1664 he came to this institution as abbot, and applied to the

[32] "Lectures on S. Bernard of Clairvaux," W. J. Sparrow-Simpson, p. 207.

[33] "Concise History of the Cistercian Order," by a Cistercian Monk, p. 132.

[34] Op. supra, "Many patrons committed the grievous abuse of presenting, at the death of the abbot of the monastery over which they claimed a right, the available income of such monastery to any favorite they pleased, whether a regular or merely secular person."

monks the austerity of the original Cistercian rule, leading them in stern practices. Thus the Grande Trappe gained fame and became a mother-house of Trappes and Trappists, as the monasteries and their inmates came to be called, though the real title was Reformed Cistercians. The Trappists are among the strictest of all Roman orders, and many who wish to flee from secular life have taken refuge with them. Their most characteristic restriction is silence, which is absolute, save in caring for guests or in speaking to superiors. Other necessary communications are made by signs. The Trappist sleeps in his habit, save for the shoes. Only the superiors have a separate room. Novices are received after two years' probation, and are professed three years later. The choir-brothers are those who are or who intend to become priests, and the other members are lay-brothers and oblates, the latter not taking the vows but keeping the rule while in the monastery. Manual work, prayer, and charity are the professed routine of the lives of all who live in a Trappist House of Silence.[35] This order has undertaken mission stations in several countries. In the catacombs of St. Calixtus, near Rome, the traveler is guided by Trappist monks, who are in charge of this famous burial-place, and who are as glib-tongued as if loquacity rather than silence had been their lifelong practice. The English spoken by one of these men seemed to me as marvelous as his anxiety to save the Protestant from the error of his ways was commendable.

[35] Title of an article in the "Catholic World," March, 1902, giving a description of the Trappist rule and practices, which reads strangely to those not acquainted with survivals of mediæval institutions. Also see Huysman's "En Route."

IV

THE MENDICANTS

FRANCIS OF ASSISI AND DOMINIC

One of the greatest of fraternal institutions was that of the Mendicants, or begging friars, who entered largely into the life of the Church from the opening of the thirteenth century. The Clunian reform seemed to many not sufficiently severe. The luxury and arrogance of the older orders indicated a worldly rather than a Christian spirit. A new imitation of Christ[1] sprang up, attended by the highest ascetic ideals. Christ was to be imitated by ministering to all, by living in poverty, by following Him in all His passion even to martyrdom, if not of the body, then of the spirit. James Freeman Clarke says: "The Mendicant Friars, like the Methodists, were the democrats in religion. The word 'friar,' 'frère,' means 'brother,' and they renounced the priestly title of Father for this humbler one of Brother.[2] The Mendicants made themselves poor that they might be in sympathy with the poor. Instead of flying from the world to save their own souls, they went into the world to save the souls of others. Like the Methodists, they went to find the stray sheep, to look for those whom the Church neglected. Like the Methodists, they were itinerant out-of-doors ministers. They administered the Eucharist on a portable altar. Like the Methodists, they drew crowds to hear them and caused the parish churches to be deserted. Traveling from house to house, they were everywhere at home among the people—their advisers, sym-

[1] "Europe in the Middle Age," Thatcher & Schwill, p. 330.

[2] Page 18, note 1.

pathizers; rejoicing with those who rejoiced, weeping with those who wept."[3] Another account of the origin of this movement says, "To a very considerable extent the rise of the Dominicans and Franciscans was a struggle after a freer and less mechanical religion than Mediæval Rome allowed to her children."[4] A large number of new orders emphasizing these views came into existence, but soon the four societies known as Franciscans, Dominicans, Carmelites, and Augustines received the recognition of the Church. Gregory X in a general council at Lyons, in 1272, suppressed the extravagant multitude of mendicants, as he called them, and confined their organizations to those above named.

Of these the oldest was probably that of the hermits of St. Augustine, who, as has been previously stated, trace their original foundations to the good Bishop of Hippo, and who from societies of recluses of the eleventh century existing in Italy without a constitution, were combined into one order in the year 1256 by Pope Alexander IV under the rule of St. Augustine. The order having become degenerate in the fourteenth century, reformed Augustinian societies were called into being, including the Saxon order to which Luther belonged, and which after leaving it he so severely denounced. The Augustinians have come down to the present time, having convents and houses in Great Britain and in the United States.

It was at one time piously held that the society called the Order of Our Lady of Mt. Carmel, or Carmelites, was founded by Elijah the prophet, but it has been conclusively shown to date from the crusader Bertrand, Count of Limoges. In 1156 with ten companions he founded a monastery on Mt. Carmel. It was not till 1245 that Innocent IV countenanced their change from

[3] "Events and Epochs in Religious History," James Freeman Clarke, p. 100.

[4] "Wyckliffe and the Lollards," Carrick, p. 17.

hermit to community life and ranked them with the mendicants. The most famous Carmelite name is that of a woman, for houses of both sexes had been founded, and St. Theresa became a Carmelite novice in 1531, and she labored unceasingly for a stricter discipline not only among the nuns but among men of the order. There are Carmelite fathers at the present time in the United States and in Canada, but the number is not large.

The great Mendicant orders were those built about the famous and representative characters of St. Francis of Assisi and St. Dominic. These are among the significant names of all Church history. About them have gathered a host of legends, true and false. They alike represent a strong and sincere reaction against the wealth and corruption of the older orders, and against the pride and luxury of the regular clergy. In character they widely differed.[5] These two men met in Rome in 1216, and an attempt was made to induce them to unite in one institution,[6] but Francis could not see the wisdom of this, and though both took the Augustine rule and secured papal sanction, the orders were separate. Each of these men required not only that his followers should personally have no property, but also that they should not as a body possess property. They were to work for a livelihood or to live on alms.

St. Francis was born at Assisi, near Florence, about 1182. He was baptized Giovanni, or John, but his father, who was a wealthy cloth merchant, had him instructed in French as a preparation for the business for which he was intended. The name Francis was gained in this way.[7] It was not an extended education which the youth received, though he was not the illiterate he is sometimes represented. His father's money and

[5] "History of the Middle Ages," Duruy, p. 289.

[6] "Scenes and Characters of the Middle Ages," E. Cutts, p. 40. The author contrasts strongly the spirit of St. Francis and of St. Dominic.

[7] "Saints and Festivals of the Christian Church," Brewster, p. 437.

foolish pride made him much courted and corrupted by the young scions of titled families, and he was tempted into wildness of conduct. But his mother, Pica, would not despair of him; but when told of his excesses, would say, "I am very sure that if it pleases God he will become a good Christian." At fourteen Francis was taken into business with his father, and at first gave attention to his work, which however he came to neglect for the frivolities of social life. In the conflict between Perugia and Assisi in 1202, with ardor he enlisted on the side of his city, and was taken prisoner when Assisi was defeated, remaining for a year in captivity. At this time he surprised his friends by his gayety and his high expectations of a great future for himself. He dreamed of adventure and of conquest, and is said to have often exclaimed, "You will see that one day I shall be adored by the whole world." When permitted to return home, Francis resumed his former dissipations, giving himself to them so earnestly that he became seriously sick, and for long weeks looked both life and death in the face. As in many similar instances the time of physical was also the time of moral crisis, yet on his recovery he again joined his old associates and planned a career of pleasure and of glory. An ambitious enterprise on which he embarked did not satisfy him. He returned home, and then in a famous grotto he entered upon a spiritual struggle so intense and protracted as to test every fiber of his strength. He saw the evil of his past life and wept over it. At last to his friends who sought to lure him back to the old ways he gave a sumptuous banquet, and when they missed him from its chief merry-making they found him plunged in a reverie so profound that he seemed unconscious of all about him. "What is the matter?" they cried. "Don't you see that he is thinking of taking a wife?" one jested. "You are right," said Francis, "and the woman I am going to wed is the

noblest, richest, most beautiful that you have ever seen."[8] They understood this afterward.

Francis had always been deeply affected by the sight of poverty, and from a boy up had ministered lavishly to the needy. He now gave himself anew to this work, visiting even the lepers, and increasing the great affection in which he was held by the many whom he had befriended. He made a pilgrimage to Rome, receiving little religious benefit therefrom. Seeing how small were the offerings of pilgrims, he emptied his purse, and borrowing the rags of a beggar in return for the loan of his own garment, he stood for a day on the *piazza* fasting with outstretched hand, gaining a great victory over his natural pride. On his return home his charities and his reveries alienated the sympathy of his father. Those to whom he went for spiritual advice as a rule failed to understand him. At last one day in the poor chapel of St. Damien as he was praying a vision came to him, and a voice speaking in an ineffable language. The light for which he prayed came in great effulgence. Jesus accepted his oblation of himself, and from that time the career of St. Francis was fixed.[9] He decided to quit his father's house. He disposed of all his possessions and turned over the proceeds to the priest of St. Damien to restore his chapel, but his father seized the money, and in wounded pride sought to have Francis banished. He was tried before the bishop, who advised him to give up his inheritance. Francis retired for a short time and, coming back naked, with his clothing in a bundle, he returned it to his father, who with no compassion took the package. Francis declared that he had called Pietro father, but now desired only God. The bishop took him, trembling with emotion and cold, under his own mantle, and the populace at first secretly

[8] "History of St. Francis of Assisi," Le Monnier, p. 49.

[9] "Life of St. Francis," Sabatier, pp. 55-7.

and later openly gave him their hearts. For a long time the general thought was that he was a madman. But the reality of his conversion was so apparent and his words as he began to preach were so simple and direct that he awakened profound convictions. His influence was greatly increased by the restlessness caused by the lax condition of the times and by the lack of spirituality in the Church. This enthusiast became a knight of poverty and of discipleship, another vision which came to him in the tiny oratory of Portiuncula, still preserved, serving to confirm his consecration to this life. He had doubtless heard of the Poor Men of Lyons and of the zeal of Peter Waldo, but while the way was in part prepared by similar movements, from which also he received inspiration, his work was not imitative, but was the development of his own experience and example.[10] The toils and pieties of Francis lasted to the very end of his days. About two years before his death, which took place in 1226, it is recorded that in a vision he was told that he should endure spiritual martyrdom, that in his body he should have the sufferings of the Cross, but in his soul a seraph's love. When the vision faded, on his body were the five wounds of Christ's passion, which, it is said, were seen by seven hundred witnesses.[11] Whatever may be thought of this account, there can be no doubt of the spiritual crucifixion of its subject.

The record of physical miracles wrought by St. Francis is a short one, and it is mixed with higher elements. Such spirits as his are not greatly impressed with material signs and wonders; it is with religion they are concerned. There are pretty stories about this simple man, of birds which listened to his sermons and crowded to be stroked by his tunic, and of springs which at his

[10] Sabatier says, "The same causes produced in all quarters the same effects."

[11] For an excellent discussion of the stigmata, see "St. Francis of Assisi," Canon Knox Little, pp. 245-250 and Appendix I.

word arose in desert places. Affection has led me to preserve the rose-leaf given me by the monk who exhibited the little garden at Portiuncula, where, it is said, Francis once threw himself in order to chasten his body and to conquer its evil, and whose bushes no longer have thorns, but bear blood-drops on their leaves. All of these accounts have their value in symbolism, for this was a man whom gentle spirits could love, who was himself a fount of refreshing, and whose self-conquests and sacrifice have taken thorns out of much unregenerated human nature and have marked it with holy blood; and as the power of a strong spirit over a susceptible body has never been fathomed, but is known to be strong, who would care to deny to so sweet and passionate a nature as Francis the stigmata even of the divine atonement?

Bernard of Quintavalle, a rich and noble layman, was the first to give up his property to follow St. Francis into a devoted life. Soon there were many others. Francis drew up a monastic rule for the guidance of his adherents.[12] Appeal was made to Rome, and Innocent III gave a limited approval and appointed Francis superior general of the Friars Minor, called also Barefooted or Gray Friars. Innocent's successor Honorius formally instituted the order, which spread rapidly and widely.

It is a beautiful picture which the early Franciscans present. They were taught by their leader to live what Thomas à Kempis later wrote. If they ate the bread of charity, they also gave with open hands. Work was honorable; laziness contemptible. All undertook some trade or engaged in any menial service by which they might minister to the necessities of others. They called themselves lesser or weaker brothers, and refused offices

[12] Rule of Francis, "Historical Documents of the Middle Ages," Emerson, pp. 344-9. Rule and Testament, "Source Book for Mediæval History," Thatcher & McNeal, 498 et seq.

and honors. Always they served and drew others to service. The peasant John saw Francis at one of his frequent tasks,—sweeping out a dirty church. "Brother, give me the broom," he said. "I will help you." So he finished the work, and then joined the company of workers for Christ, making a most excellent member, save that he too literally copied his superior: when Francis spat, coughed, or sighed, he did the same; but when gently rebuked he took it well, and became so good and useful that after he died he was remembered not as Brother John, but as Brother St. John. Egidio was another of these interesting laymen, true throughout to the principles of the order, especially concerning labor and poverty. He delighted in missions and traveled widely, always working his way where he went to preach. He was versatile in labors. At Brindisi he borrowed a jug and carried water. At Ancona he procured willow and made and sold baskets. In the olive season he helped gather, and in the grape season he was in the vintage. Sent to Rome, he walked several leagues to a forest and brought in loads of wood. This is typical of his business methods: Carrying wood, he met a woman who wished to purchase, and they agreed on a price; but when they arrived at her house she discovered what he was and pressed a larger sum upon him. "My good lady, I will not allow myself to be overcome with avarice," said Egidio, and departed merrily with nothing for his pains. Always these men worked, for wages or without; always they preached; always they shared their crust with the needy.[18] They were not communists seeking the goods of others, nor did they decry property. They simply attempted to show to a turbulent, selfish, lustful age the spirit of Jesus, that they might lead men to Him. It was a method of evangelism. Of course it was too good an example and style of living to last, and

[18] For many captivating accounts see Sabatier, chapter viii.

even now it would find its defeat in the temper of the times. But let us thank God that once in Judea and again in Umbria there were men who loved Jesus Christ above all else and their neighbors as themselves.

St. Francis' followers all too soon lost the qualities of their leader and were conformed to the greedy world. But twenty-five years after his death they were like the other orders. The Mediæval Church apotheosized the body and canonized the name of Francis, but frustrated and slew his soul. Yet many great and good men were raised up by his influence, and the Franciscan order has produced not a few famous members, among these Alexander of Hales, Duns Scotus, Roger Bacon, and Popes Sixtus V and Clement XIV. In the fifteenth century questions related to the severity of the rule caused a division into the two classes of Observants[14] and Conventuals, the former holding to the more rigorous life. The Capuchins are a reformed Franciscan order, founded 1526 by Matteo di Bassi, of Urbino. For a time this society was allied with and ruled by the Conventuals, but in 1617 it was made independent and prospered, being widely represented.

The great and vehement rival of the Franciscan order was instituted in Languedoc, France, and was confirmed by the pope in 1216. The official name of the Dominican order is Fratres Praedicatores; in English, Friars Preachers, or Preaching Brethren. Its founder, Domingo de Guzman—St. Dominic—also instituted the society in Spain and in Italy, and its extension, like that of the order of Francis, became world-wide. In England the black cloaks of the Dominicans gave them the name of Black Friars, and in Italy they were called Jacobins from the Church and hospital of St. Jacques, where they were first established in that country.

[14] The Friars of the Strict Observance were established in Spain, 1489, by John de Puebla, and became a separate congregation until 1897, when various factions of Observantines were united by Leo XIII as "Friars Minor."

The birth and childhood of St. Dominic are surrounded by mediæval legends and portents. His mother is said to have dreamed that she gave birth to a boy with a torch in his mouth which set the world on fire. A starry radiance encircled the font where the precocious infant was baptized.[15] He gave evidence of future devotion by creeping from his bed of childhood to prostrate himself upon the hard boards of his room. At fifteen he went to the university afterward called that of Salamanca, and there he studied letters, philosophy, and theology. It is said that as a student he once sold his clothes to feed the poor in time of famine, and he offered himself to be exchanged for a man enslaved by the Moors. He is thought to have remained at the university about ten years, and it was as one of the canons of Osma that he first attracted general notice. The heresies of the Church began to distress him, especially that of the believers in Manichæan errors. Dominic at once found his mission as a defender of the Catholic truth. A papal embassy to convert heretics excited his wrath because of its worldly display. "How can you expect success with all this secular pomp?" he exclaimed. "You must throw aside all your splendor and go forth as the disciples of old: barefoot, without purse or scrip, to proclaim the truth." He at once acted on his own principle, and drew to himself followers. In his earlier career he confined himself to the use of influences intellectual and moral. Later he encouraged and instituted harsher measures for suppressing heresy. While he may not have lent himself to the purposes of Simon de Monfort in his atrocities against the Albigenses, he certainly remained his friend, and it is evident that the conduct of de Monfort did not excite his horror as it should have done. The title of Founder of the Holy Inquisition proudly boasted for Dominic is

[15] See engraving, page 1, "History of St. Dominic," Drane.

one of the severest accusations which could be brought against him.[16] He spent his later years in Rome, superintending the affairs of the order.[17]

The most superficial student must note the fidelity with which the Franciscan and Dominican orders reproduced the character of their founders. The Dominicans were learned, energetic, dogmatic. They were stern defenders of orthodoxy; controversialists of voice and pen not only, but of inquisitorial fire and sword. The Franciscans were sympathetic and mystical, in some branches allied with heretical sects, but full of the spirit of devotion to Christ and of love for the people. The strong likeness and contrast of the rival leaders is sharply brought out in these words of an able writer: "One was an Italian, mystical, fervid, genial, even in his asceticism; a layman, smitten with the love of Christ and with enthusiasm for poverty; a mediæval Methodist,[18] who kindled a new devotion in the popular heart. The other was a Spaniard, a countryman of Cortez and Ignatius Loyola; a trained theologian, an ecclesiastic, with more intellect and less poetry; with an enthusiasm as profound but less genial, with even more inflexible purpose and keener sagacity. The one would burn heretics for the glory of God; the other would be burned himself for their salvation. Both were earnest; the one to fierceness, the other to ecstasy. Both were fanatics;

[16] It should be said that Jordan, the early biographer, does not mention the Inquisition, and Herkless ("Francis and Dominic," p. 92) believes that the Inquisition was certainly not organized till after the death of Dominic. Against this view is the bull of Sixtus V, naming him as inquisitor under Innocent III and Honorius III.

[17] The "Hist. of St. Dominic," by Augusta Theodosia Drane, represents the subject as Friend of God, Image of Jesus Christ, and Lover of Souls, especially chapter xix, and the final chapter, where Dante is largely quoted concerning "the loyal lover of the Christian faith, the holy athlete, gentle to his friends and terrible only to the enemies of truth," p. 477.

[18] His system was the democracy of Christianity. "Mediæval Hist.," Stille, p. 346.

but Francis was the fanatic of love; Dominic, the fanatic of wrath."[19]

Some reference should here be made to an order which in 1487 was placed by Innocent III on a level with the four great mendicant orders. It is that of the Servites,[20] or Servants of the Blessed Virgin, and was founded in Florence in 1233 by seven merchants who felt admonished to renounce the world, to sell their property for the benefit of the poor, and to dwell together upon alms. Under Philip Benizi they made great progress,[21] and they became the recipients of many pontifical favors. Though impaired by the Reformation, the order has survived to modern times and is somewhat widely represented.

[19] "Cities of Our Faith," Caldwell, p. 200.

[20] Matthew Paris, or Hélyot, in loc.

[21] "Eccl. Hist.," Mosheim, Part II, chap. ii, sec. 20.

V

MILITARY ORDERS

KNIGHTS AND SOLDIERS OF CHRIST

A BRILLIANT page of Christian history is that filled with the exploits and adventures of knightly and military orders. Strange, think you, that men should have equipped themselves with swords and armor in the name of the Prince of Peace? Not difficult to understand, however, when one has entered into the spirit of the times in which chivalry flourished, and easily explained when the type of Christianity then known is properly apprehended.

In part it may be said that militant Christianity was due to political conditions and compulsions. Such considerations do not, however, apply to the Crusades, which were the product of religious zeal, and certainly not to knight-errantry, which was inspired by the ambitions of youth and the lust of adventure, yet which often combined with its practice so many high qualities that the very name of knighthood still has power to move the heart and to inspire eloquence.[1]

The early practices by which knightly brotherhood was cemented were pagan, and sometimes horrible. The Knights of Constantinople entering into alliance with

[1] "The age of chivalry indeed is gone. We have piled away its helmets and its spears; but its blazonry is invested with a more poetic charm. Still we love the past. We love the heroic in men's history; we hate to divest it even of its fictions. The independent spirit of chivalry, bent on the accomplishment of lofty ends, without calculation of chances, or fear of failure, so generous in action, so munificent in courtesy, so frank in friendship, and so gallant in danger, must ever have rare attractions to the enthusiastic and the aspiring."—Montaigne.

the French Crusaders drove a dog between the two bands. Cutting the poor animal in twain with their swords, they declared that so it should be with those who did not keep their bond. In not a few instances the blood of contracting knights was mingled together with wine, of which both parties drank, declaring that they had now become brothers by blood. Such revolting rites and others of a less unlovely nature were abolished by Christianity, and brotherly love and fealty were consecrated before the altars of God, being hallowed by prayers and the Sacrament.[2] The very institution of a Knight was attended with religious observances and meaning;[3] and the knightly commands of the Middle Ages were extremely devout in their professions of Christianity. The Crusades were not, of course, established orders, but were great popular movements sweeping both sexes and all ages into vast enthusiasms and into heroic enterprises. At the same time arose the famous organizations whose origin and purpose must now be considered.

It must be remembered that knighthood, down to the time of the sixteenth century, was military, and also

[2] Article "Brotherhoods," "Chambers's Journal," Vol. 46, p. 261: "The new brothers confirmed their alliance by a solemn oath, sworn on the Gospels, and by receiving the wafer broken in two, as a witness of their engagement, signifying that whoever failed in the fraternal union should thus be divided from Jesus Christ."

[3] "The ceremony was essentially a religious one, and the clergy used sometimes to make a knight. . . . But usually, though religious ceremonies accompanied the initiation, and the office for making a knight still remains in the Roman Office Book, some knight of fame actually conferred 'the high order of knighthood.'" "Scenes and Characters of the Middle Ages," E. L. Cutts, p. 409. Athmole says that the first Christian kings in giving their military belt in token of knighthood kissed the new knight on the left cheek, with the words, "In honor of the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost, I make you a knight." "History of Knighthood," H. Clark, Vol. I, p. 1. "According to Ingulfus, 'It was the custom of the English before the Norman invasion, that he who was to be regularly admitted to the degree of Knighthood should on the eve of the day before his initiation . . . with all humility and compunction of heart, confess all his sins, and having received absolution, should continue the whole night in the church, exercising the strict offices of piety, and a sincere humiliation.'" Nicolas, vide infra.

that the early knights took monastic vows, so that monasticism and knighthood were closely allied. Modern orders of merit are to be regarded as an outgrowth of mediæval knighthood, and many of them represent the recognition of noble character and deeds rather than of birth and blood. Such orders as the French Legion of Honor, the Order of Fidelity of Baden, and the British Orders of the Bath,[4] of Merit, and of Distinguished Service, and in some sense all knightly institutions, are therefore to be regarded as having had a Christian origin, and in respect of their purpose, development. The early history of Knighthood is confused by poetic legends and myths, as well as by spurious records of orders which never existed.[5] It is also a commonplace to find relatively modern orders claiming a purely fictitious antiquity. Under the class first named is the legendary Order of the Holy Grail, declared to have been founded by Clovis. The Orders of Charles the Great and of King Arthur are alike imaginary.

Major Lawrence-Archer says, "Of the religious orders of knighthood, that of the Holy Sepulcher, perhaps erroneously attributed to St. Helena, but probably instituted in 1110 by Baldwin I, King of Jerusalem, is supposed to be the most ancient."[6] This author quotes Hallam in support of his view, and Clark in his "History of Knighthood" quotes Favin as authority for the origin under Baldwin, and places the order first in the list of those instituted in Palestine. But it is not believed that the facts relative to the founding of Knights of the Holy Sepulcher are known, and strictly speak-

[4] The "History of the Orders of Knighthood," Sir Nicholas Harris Nicolas, Vol. III, has an elaborate account of this order, and the work as a whole is a scholarly exposition of modern survivals of Knighthood.

[5] For a list of doubtful knightly orders see "Orders of Chivalry," Maj. J. H. Lawrence-Archer, Introd., pp. xxiii-xxv. Some of these orders are, however, believed by a number of respectable historians to be genuine.

[6] Op. cit., Introd., xix.

ing they do not constitute an order at all, being rather a confraternity of pilgrims of all classes who, having gone to Jerusalem, desired to receive some lasting sign of their perilous adventure, and thus sought to be knighted at the reputed burial-place of Christ. There were no common possessions, organization, or rule. In 1342 Pope Clement VI officially gave charge of the Holy Land to the Franciscans, who entered Syria in 1230, and through severe persecutions and at cost of many martyrdoms maintained their residence. After 1342, therefore, no one could become a Knight of the Holy Sepulcher without applying to the Franciscans. The Knights are often confused with the Canons of the Holy Sepulcher. The institution still exists, and the pope in 1907 reserved to himself the grand-mastership.

Italy gave birth to the military friars, the Red Cross Knights being founded there by French gentlemen for the relief of pilgrims. The great military orders were the Knights Templars, the Hospitalers, the Teutonic Knights, and the Brethren of the Sword. Some mention should also be made of the Bohemian Knights of the Cross.

The first and best known of these institutions, that of the Knights Templars,[7] was of comparatively humble origin.[8] During one of the years from 1117 to 1120 A. D.[9] a band of nine French gentlemen, noting the hardships experienced by pilgrims to the Holy City, banded themselves together for their safe conduct between Jerusalem and Jericho, that they might without danger bathe in the sacred waters of the Jordan. They assumed the rule of Augustine, taking the usual mo-

[7] The literature is large, including such names as Du Puy, Nicolai, Münter, Taaffe, Wilike, Woof, Addison, Mackey, and many works on Palestine and Freemasonry.

[8] Milman, "History of Latin Christianity," Vol. VI, p. 384.

[9] Authorities vary as to the exact year, 1118 being that most commonly assigned, although the vow was perhaps assumed as early as 1113, recognition being received later.

nastic vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience, adding the defense of Holy Sepulcher and the protection of Christian wayfarers.[10] The leaders were Hugh de Payens and Geoffrey de St. Aldemar or Omer, valiant soldiers who had fought with renown at the Siege of Jerusalem, 1099. These men were inflamed with mingled religious and military ardor. They called themselves Poor Fellow-soldiers of Jesus Christ.[11] For a few years members lived in dire penury. The seal of the order commemorates the fact that Hugh and Geoffrey had but one horse between them, two knights being represented mounted on a single charger.[12] By 1118 the order had so far commended itself to Christian interest that Baldwin II, King of Jerusalem, gave them a habitation[13] within the sacred enclosure on Mt. Moriah amid the structures erected in part by Justinian, 540 A. D., and in part by Caliph Omar, 640 approx. As the palace wherein they dwelt was near the temple, they were given a street running between the two structures where they might keep their properties. Hence they soon styled themselves "Milites Templi"—Soldiers or Knights of the Temple. Hugh, who was elected leader, was called "The Master of the Temple," the office being later known as "Grand Master." The banner of the Knights was half black and half white; black and terrible to foes, white and fair to Christians. Dugdale says that they wore on their heads linen coifs, like serjeants of law, with red caps over them. They were caparisoned

[10] "The Origin of Freemasonry and Knights Templars," Bennett, p. 129.

[11] "At that period Knights were called Brothers (Fratres) and their guests Christ's Poor, or The Poor, without any consideration of their poverty or wealth, for it was the name given to the most opulent, and even to royal or imperial personages." "Knights Templars," Addison-Macoy, p. 143.

[12] "Secret Societies, of All Ages and Countries," Chas. Wm. Heckethorn, Vol. I, p. 182.

[13] "The king, Baldwin II, assigned them a portion of his palace for their abode, and he and his barons contributed to their support." "Secret Societies of the Middle Ages," Thos. Keightley, p. 189.

in mail, with long white cloaks, and they affected heavy beards.[14]

Owing in no small part to the novelty of their plan and work, the Knights Templars soon attracted widespread attention. In 1138, at the Council of Troyes, the order having been recognized by the pope, Bernard of Clairvaux revised and amended their rules and formed a Code of Statutes suitable to so great a fraternity, which also he proclaimed in a famous discourse, "In Praise of the New Chivalry."[15] Houses of the Temple sprang up in various countries. The swift leap of this order into popularity is truthfully described by Addison: "An astonishing enthusiasm was excited throughout Christendom in behalf of the Templars; princes and nobles, sovereigns and their subjects vied with each other in heaping gifts and benefits upon them, and scarce a will of importance was made without an article in it in their favor. Many illustrious persons on their deathbeds took the vows, that they might be buried in the habit of the order. Sovereign princes, quitting the government of their kingdoms, enrolled themselves amongst the holy fraternity and bequeathed their dominions to the master and the brethren of the Temple."[16]

From all this adulation and enrichment but one result could certainly come. "Hence they departed from their original humility and piety. Palestine was lost, and they made no effort to recover it; but frequently drew the sword—which was only to be used in the service of God, as they understood the phrase—in the feuds and warfares of the countries they inhabited. They became proud and arrogant. When dying, Richard Cœur

[14] "History of Knighthood," H. Clark, Vol. II, p. 54.

[15] Keightley, "Secret Societies," p. 195, says, "Though in these remarks of St. Bernard there may be perceived some marks of rhetorical exaggeration, they prove incontestably the high character and sincere virtue of the founders of the society."

[16] Addison-Macoy, op. cit., p. 154.

de Lion said, "I leave avarice to the Cistercian monks, luxuriousness to the begging friars, pride to the Templars."[17]

When wealth was heaped upon them the members of this order actually came to be for a time the bankers of Europe, and their strongly-defended temples were depositories of treasure. Their riches, power, and arrogance made powerful enemies, and charges in part foul and false were made against them. Philip IV of France conspired with the pope, and everywhere they were suppressed.[18] The Council of Vienna, 1311, condemned the order, and they were by decree incorporated with their rivals the Hospitalers, Philip and the more fortunate order dividing their vast resources. The remains and monuments of Knights Templars are to be found all over Europe. A visit to the Temple Church, London, consecrated by Heraclius, seems to bring the visitor into some personal relation with the days of knightly ambitions and prowess.

The Hospitalers are known also under the terms Knights of St. John of Jerusalem, Knights of Rhodes, and Knights of Malta. The origin of this order[19] antedates that of the Templars, but its military type was

[17] Heckethorn, op. cit., p. 184.

[18] "The Grandmaster and many others were burned alive in Paris, refusing the pardon which was offered if they would confess their alleged crimes. The former ascended the scaffold and said, 'The decree which condemns us is an unjust one; we die innocent; but there is in heaven an august tribunal where the oppressed never implore in vain; to that tribunal I cite thee, O Roman Pontiff; within forty days shalt thou be there. And thee, O Philip, my master and my king, in vain do I pardon thee; thy life is condemned within the year; I await thee before God's throne!' Such a citation was not uncommon in the Middle Ages. In this case the pope and king died within the time specified."—"Chambers's Journal," 1869, p. 263. Of this matter Fredet, "Modern History," p. 303, writing from a Catholic viewpoint, says, "This story seems to be devoid of proof, being omitted by all the historians of that time, and contradicted by the best critics of more recent date, particularly by Mariana, F. Brumoy, Natalis Alexander, etc."

[19] Famous works are: P. Antonio Paoli, "Dell' Origine dell' Ordine di S. Gio. Geros.;" John Taaffe, "The History of the Holy Military Sovereign Order of St. John of Jerusalem," London, 1852. Later writings are: "Cartulaire général de l'ordre des hospitaliers," Ed. Delaville le Roulx; "Histoire des chevaliers hospitaliers de Saint-Jean," etc., Vertot.

not developed until after the tide of popularity had set towards its rivals and in imitation of them. References to hospices established in Palestine in the sixth century by Gregory the Great are precarious. Taaffe sets the date of the foundation at 1099, but in 1023, over seventy years before the first crusade,[20] Christian merchants of Amalfi, in the Kingdom of Naples,[21] obtained from the Caliph of Egypt permission to open and to conduct for pilgrims a hospital in Jerusalem. They were given a site near the Holy Sepulcher, where were erected two hospitals: one for men, dedicated to St. John the Almoner, and one for women, named for St. Mary Magdalene. Subscriptions from all parts of Christendom were made to these institutions, the merchants acting as stewards, and the foundation becoming known as the Brotherhood of St. John at Jerusalem. Under the first head of the brotherhood whose name has come down, the Rector Gérard, the institution flourished, and was imitated in branch houses in maritime towns of Europe. Gérard, though fanatical, was a man of pity, and he secured the regard of the Moslem poor.[22]

The Crusaders, in 1099, captured Jerusalem, and their wounded were cared for by the Brothers of St. John. Godfrey de Bouillon, the noble knight and conqueror, who refused to wear a crown of gold in the city in which his Savior wore a crown of thorns,[23] was so impressed with the work done in this hospital that

[20] Article, "The Knights of St. John of Jerusalem, Past and Present," John Wortabet, M. D., "Good Words," July, 1893, p. 378. Maj. Lawrence-Archer, op. cit. XX, says 1048. Porter says 1050.

[21] Business relations had been established between Naples and the Saracens. Review "The Monastic Knights," "Littell's Living Age," 1884, p. 323, from London "Quarterly Review."

[22] Idem.

[23] "History of the Crusades," Michaud, Vol. I, p. 234. Also Mills, Vol. I, p. 264. Godeffroy of Bologne, "William of Tyre Ca°.," clxxxxix; "Whan he was chosen to be Kynge in Cristendom doo he answerde that in this holy cyte, where our Savyour Ihesu Criste suffred deth, and had born a crowne of thornes vpon his heed for hym and for the synners he wold never bere yf it playsyde god, crowne of gold ne of precious stones."

he endowed it with his manor of Montboise, in Brabant.[24] His example was followed by many of his associates.

In the beginning the Hospitalers of St. John obeyed the rule of St. Benedict, but under Gérard they followed the Augustinian rule. They were very charitable. Paoli described their old customs of the care of crusaders' children and of abandoned infants; of alms to the imprisoned, and clothing when they were liberated; of marriage portions given to poor girls; of food and clothing given freely thrice a week to all who asked; of thirty-five necessitous persons fed daily at the Knights' table; of a tailor's room for mending the clothing of the poor, and of other large-hearted benefactions.[25] It is said that Baldwin II constituted the Hospitalers Knights.

In 1118 or 1120 Gérard, dying, was succeeded by Raymond du Puy,[26] a member of a noble family in Dauphiné. The mind of Raymond was charged with the notions of chivalry, and among the members of his convent were not a few "whose hearts were not so deadened to the martial enthusiasm of the age as their profession required."[27] Or was it that the unsettled condition of the times as well as the positive dangers of the newly-established and precarious Kingdom of Jerusalem absolutely required their aid in the manly art of defense?[28] Certainly it is to be hoped that a sense of duty underlay the transformation of an order

[24] The act of donation is still preserved in the Vatican library, "Malta and Its Knights," Maj. Gen. Whitworth Porter, p. 5, note.

[25] P. A. Paoli, 202.

[26] "History of the Crusades," Mills, Vol. I, p. 344, note, says that the term of his office as grand master was 1121-1160.

[27] "Malta and Its Knights," Porter, p. 6.

[28] "In the very first year after their constitution as a military order, the Knights took a leading part in the repulse of a vast army of Turkomans that had besieged Antioch; and in all the subsequent wars between the Crusaders and the Saracens they were in the thickest of the fight."—Wortabet, "Good Words," 1893, p. 379, ut supra.

of pious nurses into one of soldiers, even at a time of great dangers and excitement.

From this point the peaceful seclusion of the hospital was broken upon by the ardors of a martial age, and before many years elapsed the white-cross banner of the Knights of St. John had stricken terror to the heart of many a foe.[29] At this time the order forsook the patronage of its former saintly benefactor. "They soon deserted," says William of Tyre, "their humble patron, St. John the Eleemosynary, for the more august character, St. John the Baptist."[30] With the transformation into a military order came a division into three classes: knights, ecclesiastics, and serving brothers. The Knights of Justice were of noble birth. The ecclesiastics came to be of two grades: conventual chaplains, who were in charge of the religious exercises of the order in Jerusalem; and priests of obedience, whose duties were in European institutions. The third class, or serving brothers, were also of two grades: servants-at-arms, or esquires, and servants-at-office. The first of these grades acted as attendants and helpers to the Knights, and in some cases were eligible to become enrolled among them. Servants-at-office[31] did the work of menials and domestics, but also fought, and had such privileges and rewards as made admission to their ranks desirable to many common people.

While the Hospitalers were a military order sworn to the destruction of the Mussulmans, if one of them accepted a challenge to private combat he was deprived of his habit and cross.[32] The two orders, Knights Tem-

[29] These caretakers of the sick astonished the world by their courage and daring as soldiers. "Ecclesiastical History," Mosheim-Coote, Vol. I, p. 302.

[30] Review: "The Monastic Knights," op. cit., Littell's "Living Age," 1884, p. 324; "History of the Christian Church," Robertson, Vol. V, p. 56.

[31] They were called serjiens, a French transmutation of the Latin serviens, and applied to any who labored in an inferior position.

[32] "History of the Crusades," Mills, Vol. I, p. 347.

plars and Knights of St. John, became a powerful standing army for the defense of the Kingdom of Jerusalem. They also soon engaged in its aggressive adventures and conquests, and when in 1153 Baldwin III captured Ascalon, largely, it was believed, because of the skill of the grand master of the Hospitalers, the pope gave to this order and to the Templars such independence of the clergy as probably began that hostility of ecclesiastics[33] which did not cease when the Templars, in 1312-14, were ruined and their estates as well as many of their members were turned over to their more fortunate rivals.

When Jerusalem was finally lost in 1187,[34] and Acre in 1291, the grand master of the hospital and some followers escaped to Cyprus,[35] and in 1308 the Knights went to Rhodes, capturing the island after a desperate struggle lasting two years.[36] In 1530 they removed to Malta, having for two centuries contributed to the safety of navigation and to the encouragement of commerce. During this period occurred also the division into seven langues, or languages, representing the principal states of Europe in which the order was represented. Corruption seized upon Hospitalers when they began to prosper, and in Malta they engaged in the slave traffic; but they made their fortress one of the most powerful in the world, and they had held back from Europe the ambitious Turks, deserving thereby the enduring praise of Christendom.[37] The scandal of

[33] Taaffe, op. cit., Bk. I, chap. 4.

[34] Excellent account of this, "Age of Feudalism and Theocracy," Hans Prutz, Ph. D., "Hist. All Nations," Vol. IX, p. 269.

[35] "The Story of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem," Archer and Kingsford, p. 417, in reporting the above, adds: "But there remained sixty thousand Christians whose fate was slavery, or the sword, or worse. The Templars and those who had taken refuge with them met the noblest end; for, resisting to the last, they succumbed only when their fortress was undermined, and together with numbers of their assailants perished in its ruins."

[36] An elaborate and finely illustrated work is "Rhodes of the Knights," Baron de Belabre.

[37] Vide "Malta, Past and Present," Seddall, p. 98.

the degenerate morals and works of the Hospitalers was made more public by John Howard[38] who visited the island in 1786. Finally the French, who had been mixing in its affairs for some time, under Napoleon captured Malta in 1798. From that time the Order of St. John, whose headquarters were removed to Russia and elsewhere, has had a relatively humble history.[39] When the allies captured Malta Lord Nelson secured from the emperor the cross of St. John for the notorious Lady Hamilton.[40] The English Freemasons claim a revival of the order near the end of the eighteenth century. An independent revival took place in England in 1831, brought about by Rev. Sir Robert Peat. The German langue, or Brandenburg branch, inactive after the Reformation, was reconstituted in 1853 by Frederick William IV, whose brother, Prince Charles, was made grand master.[41] Many hospitals are maintained by the Knights in Germany, and after the massacre of Christians in Damascus and Lebanon a hospital was established in Beyrout, and a hospice and chapel in Jerusalem. Thus does the good day of the past return again. England also has its survivals, including the St. John's Ambulance Association. The Roman order was re-established in 1879 by Pope Leo XIII. Business offices are maintained, and the ancient archives, dating from the twelfth century, are to be found at La Valetta, Malta.

[38] Howard describes the piratical attacks of the Knights on Mohammedan settlements, and their evil conduct toward the sick. "Do not these Knights," he says, "make themselves the worst enemies of the cross of Christ under the pretense of friendship?" "Howard on Lazarettos," Warrington, 1789, p. 58. Vide "Memoirs of John Howard," James Baldwin Brown, London, 1818, pp. 463-4. Many more recent lives of Howard reproduce this testimony.

[39] Hardman's "History of Malta" during the French and British occupations contains profuse accounts of the vicissitudes of the order, and of the controversies over it between the powers.

[40] "Malta and Its Knights," Porter, p. 332.

[41] An account of the origin and customs of this order of Protestant Knights is found in "History of Malta," Louis de Boisgelin, Vol. I, chap. iv.

CHRISTIAN BROTHERHOODS

The second half of the twelfth century gave rise in Spain to the military orders of Calatrava, of St. James of Compostella, of St. James of Alcantara, and of several others. The Order of Evora and other foundations of Portugal[42] date from this time. The Knights of these orders swore to maintain the Christian cause. Special privileges were accorded them and they grew great and somewhat dangerous, but it is attributed to them that the warfare against the Moors was persistently waged and that in the end the Christian States of Southern Europe were preserved intact.[43]

An order whose fame was to be gained in the north was originated in Palestine in 1190. A hospital for Germans had been built in Jerusalem, it is said, through the piety of a German and his wife who were living there during the time of the holy wars, and who were distressed by the condition of the pilgrims from their own land.[44] In the year named a brotherhood was formed by German Knights, which was recognized by Pope Clement III in 1191, became a knightly order in 1198, and came to be known as the Teutonic Knights of St. Mary's Hospital at Jerusalem. These Knights wore a white mantle with a black cross. Their rule was St. Augustine's, and they had knights, priests, and servants. Considerable lands were soon acquired by the order at Beyrout, Toron, and Acre, near which place was erected the strongly-fortified chief seat, Montfort, or Starkenberg. Herman von Salza, third grand master, 1211-1235, came to see that there was no future for his Knights in the East. Just then Conrad, Duke of Masobia, Poland, needing help against the heathen Prus-

[42] "The Chivalric Orders of 'Christ,' 'St. James,' and 'St. Bento d'Avis' were originally religious orders until secularized in 1789, whereupon the gradmastership of the united orders was vested in the crown." "Orders of Chivalry," Maj. Lawrence-Archer, p. 206.

[43] "Age of Feudalism and Theocracy," Prutz, "Hist. All Nations," Vol. IX, p. 259.

[44] "History of Knighthood," H. Clark, Vol. II, p. 59.

sians, offered to the Knights the territory about Kulm, to be theirs as rulers if they could conquer it. The Knights secured the endorsement of the emperor and the pope, and then undertook the conquest, fortifying their way as they proceeded, so that when repulsed they could retreat by a succession of strong defenses.[45] A desperate struggle of half a century made them victors, Christianity thus coming into Prussia by fire and sword in 1283, and the grand master of the Teutonic Knights becoming sovereign of the State which has grown into the modern Kingdom of Prussia.[46]

The Brothers of the Sword,[47] another military order of Livonia, called also Knights of Christ, and founded by a bishop of Livonia for the conquest of the heathen,[48] was absorbed by the Teutonic Knights in 1237, and they were thus able to acquire Livonia and Kurland. They extended their territories and established a strong State, which "completed the benefits conferred on the northeast of Europe by the Hanseatic League."[49] However, the aristocratic Knights were hated by those whom they conquered. In 1410 they sustained a grievous defeat at the hands of the Poles and Lithuanians. Other reverses came, and finally the Brothers of the Sword cut loose from their alliance. In 1525 the grand master, Albert of Brandenburg, became a Protestant, laid down his office, and turned his State into the Duchy of Prussia, under fealty to the King of Poland. The order continued to exist in Germany until it was abolished by Napoleon, 1809, when its properties were seized. A revival as an Austrian order occurred in 1834.[50]

[45] "History of Prussia," Herbert Tuttle, p. 115, names surviving castles, built by the Teutonic Knights, and to be seen by the tourist.

[46] "History of Mediæval Peoples," Robinson Souttar, p. 477. Good brief account of military orders.

[47] The two orders had much in common. Robertson, "History of the Christian Church," IV, p. 369.

[48] "Middle Ages," Duruy, p. 291.

[49] Prutz, op. cit., "History of All Nations," Vol. IX, p. 378.

[50] Consult "Geschichte des deutschen Ritterordens," Voigt.

The spirit of Knighthood fostered throughout Europe by the military orders was reflected in Bohemia by the Knights of the Cross.[51] Vladislav II and his officers during their experience in the Crusades doubtless came in contact with the ardent Hospitalers and Templars, but there is no proof of a Palestinian origin for this fraternity. The earliest definite date is 1233, when the Knights are found attached to a hospital at Prague under the Clarisses, and the order was definitely instituted under the rule of Augustine by Gregory IX, 1238. The Knights were designated by a red six-pointed star, worn in addition to the cross.

By the middle of the thirteenth century the Knights of the Cross had large possessions in Bohemia, and they soon spread to all the regions now known as Austria-Hungary. During the Reformation, although the Knights occupied middle ground in some matters of faith and practice,[52] they were a bulwark of the old Church. The followers of John Huss attacked and almost destroyed them, but the order survived and became stubborn in its resistance of the progressive movement. At the siege of Eger, during the Thirty Years' War, the Knights were conspicuous for zeal, and for a century or more, down to 1694, the Archbishopric of Prague was almost wholly dependent on them for support. The present order is not large, but it has a valuable library and has been active in the work of the University of Prague.

The French Order of Jesus Christ,[53] attributed to Dominic, 1206, was instituted to contend against the Albigenses, and was partly religious and partly military. Its career was less than a century long. The

[51] "History of Bohemia," Vickers, p. 154.

[52] Ibid, p. 496, Erasmus says that most of the Knights celebrated the Supper under both kinds, and chanted the Epistle and Gospel in the national language.

[53] "Hist. Knighthood," Clark, Vol. I, p. 261.

English Order of St. Thomas,[54] called also Brotherhood of St. Thomas à Becket, and Knights of St. Thomas of Acon, or Acre, was a semi-religious military order, reputed to have been founded by King Richard I in Palestine, 1191. In their hospital in London these Knights survived the destruction of the Knights Templars, with whom they were closely connected, and were active until the Reformation.[55]

Two military orders called Bethlehemites are relatively little known. One of these is mentioned by Matthew Paris,[56] who records that Henry III authorized their house at Cambridge, 1257. They wore a red star of five rays with azure center, and which commemorated the star of the Magi. The Military Order of Crusaders of the Red Star, also called Bethlehemites from their house at Bethlehem, went to Bohemia in 1217, where they still exist as ecclesiastics who are caretakers of the sick, and educators. The order of the same name, established after the fall of Constantinople, 1453, for the protection of the Island of Lemnos, soon collapsed, because of the recapture of the island by the Turks.

[54] "The Life of S. Thomas Becket," John Morris, p. 608. "City Companies of London," Ditchfield, p. 22.

[55] For a catalogue of older works on "Orders of Chivalry," see Lawrence-Archer, op. cit., 349 ff.

[56] "Grande Chronique," III, 300.

VI

MYSTICAL BROTHERHOODS

POOR MEN AND FRIENDS OF GOD

CHRISTIAN mystics and pietists of all ages may be thought in their better types to represent not merely a reaction against the worldliness and wickedness of their times, but a rekindling of that spirit in man which is the candle of the Lord. But because each new return to apostolic simplicity in thought and conduct has been accompanied by some related or merely contemporaneous fanaticism, or has been used by designing and unworthy persons and leaders to their own advantage, it is not uncommon in modern literature to find uncritical and even total condemnations of mysticism. "Mysticism is a constant joy to the skeptic," a great popular journal exclaims, and the able but undiscriminating and religiously empty author of an iconoclastic book declares that "Mysticism flourishes only among credulous people. It is plain that mysticism is a mixture of emotionalism and muddleheadedness. Mystics are mental inebriates," and much more to the same effect, all of which may have its meaning and force as applied to certain unredeemed enthusiasts, but does not go far towards the explanation of such characters as Bernard of Clairvaux, Francis of Assisi, and Thomas à Kempis.

It is not easy to define so recondite and indefinite a term and tendency as is mysticism. It represents widely-divergent views and life, but perhaps the most representative fundamental principle is stated by

Preger. "The characteristic of mysticism is that it strives after an immediate experience and vision of the Divine."[1] "In religious mysticism," says Dargan, "the essential thing is the avowed consciousness of an immediate dealing of the soul with God; a complete union with God or fullness of God."[2] It is apparent that this principle gives room on the one hand for the most elevated and pious devotion, and on the other hand for such an identification of self with God as deifies even the common passions of humanity and leads to all possible excesses.

It is not the present purpose, however, to enter upon a discussion of mysticism in general, but to set forth the aims and deeds of the brotherhoods of which in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries this spirit was the source.

The Waldenses, "Poor of Christ" or "Poor Men of Lyons," were not an order, but a sect, including, and permitting even to preach, women as well as men. These humble pure followers of Peter Waldo, a merchant of Lyons, who about 1178 experienced a transforming religious experience, while persecuted and cast out by the Mediæval Church, have left upon the world an influence for righteousness and in behalf of Christian earnestness which will not soon pass away. The Waldenses took the gospel literally, and seriously attempted to make it their daily practice. They refused to swear, kill, or lie; they insisted on preaching Christ without ordination or ecclesiastical sanction; they would pray, except for the dead; they would do kindness and live poor, with as little distinction as possible between clergy and laity;[3] they rejected indulgences and purgatory. Waldo and his associates wished to remain in

[1] "Geschichte der Mystik," Preger, I, 8: "Sie unmittelbares Erleben und Schauen des Göttlichen anstrebt."

[2] "History of Preaching," E. C. Dargan, p. 267.

[3] "Studies in Mystical Religion," Jones, especially pp. 142-8.

the Catholic Church, but there was no place in the Church of that day for their system of lay evangelism and gospel simplicity, though Harnack thinks that if the movement had come a century later it might have been incorporated.[4] The Waldenses have persisted in considerable strength up to the present time, and have been brought into recent notice by some eminent accessions from Rome, including the learned Jesuit, Professor Giorgio Bartoli.[5] An organization of "Apostolic men," "poor men," called Beghards, came into existence in Louvain about 1220. This society represents a reversal of the usual order of related foundations of men and women in that a sisterhood with similar ideals preceded it, receiving the name Beguines. The derivations of the terms "Beghard" and "Beguine" has been much disputed. Mosheim,[6] and others following, traced the origin to a Flemish or German verb *beghen* or *beggen,* to beg. In this view the reference is sometimes to literal mendicancy, sometimes to prayer, "begging hard" of God. The modern tendency is, however, to refer the word to a nickname given to the founder Lambert, "le Bègue," which is to say "the stammerer."[7] Of course "Beguine" was coined before Beghard, and many think it much more likely that the verb "to beg" come from "Beguine" than the reverse. In a society full of women left by the Crusades without supporters and protectors, unchastity and poverty were rife. Every city of the continent was thronged with ragged women crying, "Brod, durch Gott," "Bread, for God's sake!" The wit of Lambert of Liège

[4] "History of Dogma," Harnack, VI, p. 92.

[5] For account of the strength of the Waldenses at the opening of the twentieth century, see "Christendom A. D. 1901," W. D. Grant, Ed., Vol. I, p. 284.

[6] "Ecclesiastical History," Mosheim, III, Part II, cap. ii. Jones says Mosheim derives from a Flemish verb, and that no such word exists.

[7] "Studies in Mystical Religion," Jones, p. 198.

discovered the first remedial plan. This pious priest gathered the women and girls who proposed to live chastely, first into an ordinary house, then into a Beguinage or group of houses surrounding a church and hospital. First of all there was protection; occupation and support being also provided. There was no absolute separation from the world, renunciation of property, or vow against marriage. It was a community of poor virtuous women associated together for mutual tasks, charitable and religious, and for the profit of all.

The Beghards[8] sprang into existence thirty years later. Bands or brotherhoods of pious laymen, without entering monasteries, performed offices of religion and charity for themselves and for others. They cared for the sick, the insane, the dead, often without pay. They were never more than half monks, being free at any time to take up ordinary vocations and to marry. They lived partly by toil and partly by begging. They were mainly, though not altogether, men of humble origin: weavers, dyers, fullers, and of various other trades, through which they were closely allied with the craft-guilds of the cities; and in some instances, as in Brussels, no one was admitted to the Beghard community unless he belonged to the Weavers' or to some other similar company.

The Beghard and Beguine groups contained many persons of intelligence and of much reading and thought, and these instructed others; while all, without ordination, preached freely, even on such subjects as the Trinity and Divine Guidance. Their poverty, unselfishness, and zeal won for them, even when opposed, wide popularity, but they were soon subject to the disapprobation of the regular clergy, even before gross abuses crept into the bodies.

[8] The principal source for facts concerning this widely related and much misunderstood order is Mosheim, "De Beghardis et Beguinabus."

Doubtless many of the accusations made against them were false.[9] In course of time there came to be, however, enough evil for which to justly bring charges. In an age of loose morals it was difficult to guard the purity of societies which were unbound to obedience and discipline. Moreover, the mystical tendencies of the members soon brought them into fellowship with the Brethren of the Free Spirit, and at length, to their infinite injury, under their domination. By the opening of the fourteenth century the terms "pest" and "heretic" came to be applied to them with force, and the name "Beghard" became an appellation with which to blacken reputation.[10] But many members of the brotherhoods remained pure of heart and bravely suffered persecution and death for their faith, the most famous member and martyr being Nicholas of Basel, at one time generally identified with the mysterious laymen from the Oberland, through whose saintly influence John Tauler was converted.[11] Nicholas was a famous missionary who traveled widely, expending, it is said, his own wealth, and aiding the cause of piety by self-denying labors. History has preserved little that is certain with reference to the details of his life, but it is known that he was seized by the Inquisition and put to death in Vienna about 1397 in company with two of his disciples. The whole Beghard movement was rudely shaken in the fifteenth century, and from that time deteriorated.

It is almost impossible at times to clearly distinguish between bodies of Beghards, Brethren of the Free

[9] Vaughan, "Hours With the Mystics," I, p. 185. The quaintly prejudiced "Short History of Monastic Orders," by Gabriel d'Emillianne, says, "The Papists charged them immediately (as they are wont to do those who do not side with them) with thousand abominable crimes." p. 219.

[10] So used, for example, in case of Florentius. J. P. Arthur's Intro. "Founders of the New Devotion," Thomas à Kempis, XXV.

[11] "Christian Mysticism," Inge, p. 180. Vaughan, I, 239-240, holds to this identification, which Jones, p. 210, however declares to be without historical foundation. But see under "Friends of God."

Spirit, and Lollards. These societies in many places merged into each other or combined, and their names, together with that of the Waldenses, are loosely and often erroneously used by authorities. There can be no doubt, however, that the Brethren of the Free Spirit represent a radical and often a revolutionary type of mysticism. It is unfortunate that our knowledge of them comes mainly through the writings of their enemies whose accusations are supported by the strong censures of Tauler. On its better side the movement was a popular uprising in behalf of liberty and a powerful representation of the religion of laymen. It was indeed strongly anti-ecclesiastic, but it was based on pantheistic and acosmistic ideas, and easily ran into libertinism. "They combined with their pantheism a determinism which destroyed all sense of responsibility."[12] The Bishop of Strasburg in 1317 accuses the Brethren of the Free Spirit of many things purely anti-clerical, such as teaching that it is not necessary in order to salvation to confess to priests, and that the consecrated wafer in the hands of a layman is as efficacious as a priestly mass; but he also charges that these enthusiasts taught that no obedience is necessary, not even to parents; that there is neither purgatory, hell, nor judgment; that the soul's inner voice is superior to Church teaching, and that many of themselves had attained such perfection that they could not sin. Tauler opposes sound spiritual freedom to what he calls spurious spiritual freedom.[13] Of the objectionable types of the "Free Spirit" he says that they hold themselves free from all subjection as a tool is passive until its Master desires to use it; therefore they account themselves to be superior to all virtues. Whatever nature desires they

[12] Inge, op. cit., p. 140.

[13] Preger, "Geschichte der deutschen Mystik im Mittelalter." Vol. III. This work contains a rich store of materials for an adequate conception of Mysticism.

can do freely without sin, because they have reached the highest innocence.[14] The problem of Christianity in the period when these people flourished was how to keep the warm love and faith which mysticism certainly furnished without running into antinomian excesses and hypocrisies. It must be confessed that the Brethren of the Free Spirit were little helpful to this end.[15] The Men of Understanding, *Homines Intelligentiæ*, an organization found at Brussels in 1411, seems to represent a derived society of Brethren of the Free Spirit. They professed celestial visions, denied the possibility of Scriptural knowledge without illumination, expected a new revelation, affirmed that outward actions of any kind are unable to defile the inward man, professed that the resurrection had come, and taught the final salvation of all men and devils.[16] Before, and after this time the Flagellantes or Whippers ran throughout many parts of Europe, stirring up false doctrines and practices, and causing much confusion. The German inquisitors devoted many of them to the flames, including the Thuringian leader, Conrad Schmidt, whom Shonefeld put to death with many of his followers.[17]

It is refreshing to turn to a brotherhood more closely allied with the Beghards, and indeed often almost inextricably mixed with them, known as "Friends of God." The leaders of this laymen's movement were much under the influence of the great teacher of German mysticism, Meister Eckhart,[18] and to some extent they were also impressed by the views of the German prophetesses,

[14] "Tauler speaks of Free Spirits to show the error of their doctrines, not to demand their extirpation." "Life and Times," Winkworth, p. 151.

[15] But Carrick, "Wycliffe and the Lollards," p. 15, says that they together with Beghards, Beguines, and many other kindred communities, "handed on the torch of apostolic faith."

[16] "Ecclesiastical History," Mosheim, Part II, chap. v, section 4.

[17] Kappius, "Rel. Theol. Antiq.," p. 475.

[18] Back of Eckhart, Erigena and Aquinas, Dionysius and Augustine. "Aspects of Christian Mysticism," Scott, p. 54.

Saints Hildegarde, Elizabeth, and Matilda. The Friends of God formed small groups, both of men and women, scattered over all Northern Europe from Bohemia to the Netherlands, but the leading centers were Basel, Cologne, and Strasburg. Little organization characterized these societies, which gathered around the nuclei of spiritual leaders who were believed to be subjects of direct divine revelations. There were brotherhood houses, called by Tauler "quiet nests," where members lived together. The "Friends" were thoroughly opposed to the moral laxity of the Brethren of the Free Spirit and were liable to go to the opposite extreme of ascetic rigors and self-denials. They were deep and intense in piety of the mediæval type, and they were obedient to the rules of the Church, being generally without Protestant temper, even when rebuking ecclesiastical abuses. "They were not a sect," says a careful writer,[19] "but a company who devoted themselves to the love of God and of men, and were active in all benevolent works." It was their care to minister to the inward life, sadly disturbed by the evil influence of troubled times, and by preaching, counsel, and sacrament to succor the poor people "that are now as sheep without a shepherd and perishing for lack of spiritual bread."[20] This work was prosecuted both personally and by literature, of which the volumes that have come down form a large collection,[21] including among others the treatises ascribed to the enigmatical "Friend of God from the Oberland," Merswin's "New Life," "The Book of the Five Men," "Book of the Master of Holy Scripture," "Book of the Nine Rocks," and many letters.

The Friends of God number some notable and consecrated names, of which those best known are Rulman

[19] "History of the Christian Church," Blackburn, p. 357.
[20] Vaughan, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 224, quoting Schmidt's "Tauler."
[21] For a considerable list see R. M. Jones, op. cit., 246, note 1.

Merswin, John Tauler, Henry Suso, Jan Ruysbroek, and the unknown author of "Theologia Germanica," the literary gem of the movement, of which Luther said, "Next to the Bible and St. Augustine no book hath ever come into my hands from which I have learned more of what God and Christ and man and all things are."[22] Merswin of Strasburg was born in 1307. In his youth he became a banker, and attained wealth. When about forty years of age he withdrew from the world and devoted his life to religion, not giving away his property, but keeping it to use as God might direct. Some time later he purchased Grünenwörth and established the "Convent of the Green Isle," as a mystic home and school of prophets. The history of this devout man is so mingled with that of his strange and unrevealed "Friend from the Oberland" that it is difficult to state with assurance the details of his life and activities. Jan Ruysbroek, 1293-1381, the "ecstatic doctor," taught three stages of Christian living: the active, the internal, the contemplative.[23] The distinguishing marks of the first stage are humility, justice, and love. The second stage is that of illumination, denoting the rise of the soul from the exterior to the inner life. For spiritual illumination and vision three things are necessary: the light of divine grace, the free conversion of the will towards God, and a conscience pure from all mortal sin. Few attain the third stage, when by a process of "deification" the soul makes its ascent to God. At this stage one dies to himself in God, and God unites him to Himself in eternal recompense of all the virtues. Ruysbroek was not a scholar, yet knew enough Latin to become a priest at twenty-four years of age, performing his duties with zealousness

[22] In the preface of an edition of "Theologia Germanica" which he edited, Luther states that it was written by a German gentleman, a priest and warden in the house of the Teutonic Order at Frankfort.

[23] Scott, op. cit., pp. 70-72.

till his sixtieth year, when with comrades he retired to the monastery of Grönendal, where he also performed the lowliest tasks, treating as friends the humblest associates, and by personal contact as well as by his pen bringing many souls into the Invisible Church of God to which he belonged and of which he was a pillar.

Henry Suso was born near Constance about 1295 and was the child of a worldly knight and a sentimentally religious mother,[24] whose union was as unhappy as it was incongruous. Each of his parents sought to mold the life of the susceptible child, but the mother with most success; and after his father gave up hope of making him like himself, the lad was placed in the Dominican cloister at Constance. He was troubled in spirit, and in seeking peace he passed through severe and prolonged tortures, both of mind and body. Finally he came upon the writings of Eckhart, and later, at Cologne, he was under the master's personal instruction. From early life until his fortieth year he practiced extreme asceticism. He passed through many persecutions by reason of slander against both his views and his personal life. His teachings were those of Eckhart: the mystical union with God, amounting to an identification of the human and divine spirits, the humanizing of God, and the deification of the mystic, with the attainment of divine knowledge, love, and holiness through this intimate divine relationship. There was little place for sin, repentance, or faith unto salvation in this system, which by Eckhart was proclaimed largely to the already religious, who were urged to attain to fullness of union with God. As a speaker Suso was more ready and attractive than his master, and he did much to popularize the mystic doctrine and to increase its adherents.

[24] According to Oudinus, Suso declares that his mother was "full of the mighty God." Ullman, "Reformers Before the Reformation," Bk. III, Part 5, p. 189.

The most famous of all Friends of God was John Tauler, another of Eckhart's pupils and a learned, eloquent, and spiritual leader, of whom it has been said that "of all the mystics, Tauler was the nearest approach to a universal character."[25] He was probably born at Strasburg, 1290,[26] and he died there June 16, 1361. At the age of eighteen he renounced a fortune to enter a Dominican cloister. He studied in Paris and spent most of his energies in Cologne and Strasburg, coming into close relations in thought and in labor with Ruysbroek and Nicholas of Basel. He published in German a work with the title *"Nachfolge des armen Lebens Christi,"* and other devotional writings and sermons served to emphasize the teachings of his devout life.

Tauler was independent in thought and in deeds. When Strasburg was in the double woes of the Black Death and of papal interdict, he and his Friends of God went to and fro with comfort for the people. "God," said he, "is not in the churches alone; He does not come only with the priest; seek Him in your homes and hearts." The plague became so great that perhaps a fourth of the population of Western Europe suffered, while in Strasburg sixteen thousand persons fell victims, and there were not priests enough to bury the dead. Ghastly processions of Flagellants appeared, clad in white shirts, often covered with blood, and chanting wildly as they scourged each other to exhaustion:

"Nun hebet auf eure Haende,
Dass Gott dies grosse Sterben wende;
Nun hebet auf eure Arme,
Dass sich Gott ueber uns erbarme:"

The Jews were accused, by some fanatics, of causing the evil by poisoning the wells, and many of them were

[25] "Hist. Christian Church," Hurst, p. 208.
[26] Some authorities date his birth ten years later.

burned to death. Prophets arose, predicting the world's end. In the midst of all Tauler preserved judgment. He inspired the good with new courage, even while he declared that the city was being scourged for its sins.[27] The Roman authorities troubled him for a time, but he won hosts of followers, and the mystic groups, both those of men and the women's associations, were strengthened by the gifts of the rich and by large accessions of members. That Tauler's doctrines were sometimes subversive of good judgment and of the Scriptures, Luther did not always clearly perceive. John Wesley more fully realized the objectionable features of mysticism, and he accuses one of the commentaries of the celebrated German with being "tinctured" with these, "and hence often dangerously wrong. How does he, almost in the words of Tauler, decry reason, right or wrong, as an irreconcilable enemy to the gospel of Christ."[28] In a letter to Mr. Law,[29] Wesley also says, "Tauler, Behmen, and a whole army of mystic authors are, with me, nothing to St. Paul." On apostolic authority Wesley refuted, against mystical teachers, those antinomian extravagances which have often proven the curse of piety. However, the great profitableness of the preaching, charity, and nobility of many individual Friends of God has never been denied by good authorities, nor has the relation of their history and writings to that movement been unrecognized by the Churches which have resulted from the Reformation.[30]

[27] "The History and Life of the Rev. Dr. John Tauler," Winkworth, p. 136.

[28] John Wesley's "Journal," June, 1741, p. 218.

[29] "Wesley's Works," Vol. V, p. 669. Wesley seems to have been critical of Behmen to the point of injustice.

[30] "Reformers Before the Reformation," Ullman, Bk. III, Part 5, p. 258.

VII

LOLLARDS AND BROTHERS OF THE COMMON LIFE

MYSTICAL BROTHERHOODS—Continued

BEFORE considering that brotherhood which has produced the best known of all mystical names, some thought should be taken of the Lollards, who were rather an unorganized company of lay preachers than a society, having, however, a strong group feeling.[1] The name is most commonly associated with the followers of John Wycliffe, but it was given to them as a nickname, and its origin must be sought much earlier.[2] Its first known appearance in literature is in the "Chronicles of Joames Hocsemius," 1309. Lea says[3] that associations of Lollards were founded during a pestilence at Antwerp about the year just mentioned. They were laymen who devoted themselves to the care of the sick and insane, and especially to the burial of the dead, supplying the funds partly by labor and partly by begging." It is said that the name Lollard comes from the Low German *lullen* or *lollen,* which means to sing or chant in a low tone, preserving memory of the dirges which were plaintively sung as dead bodies were borne to the grave. Another derivation is from Walter Lollard, regarded by Professor Lindsay as a mythical personage, but probably a native of Mentz, who preached

[1] R. M. Jones, op. cit., p. 360.

[2] A valuable work is "Lollardy and the Reformation in England," James Gairdner.

[3] "History of the Inquisition of the Middle Ages," Henry Chas. Lea, Vol. II, p. 350, note.

on the continent and in England in the early fourteenth century, and who was burned as a heretic in 1322 at Cologne. The Monk of Canterbury refers the origin of the term to *lolium,* "a tare," regarding the Lollards as tares sown in Christ's vineyard.

Without doubt the Lollards were in strong opposition to Rome with reference to the necessity of infant baptism in order to salvation, the divine origin of the mass, transubstantiation, ordination, and other matters. This led to severe persecution of Lollards down to the time of the Reformation. At first they were bad martyrs, but as time went on they became of sterner stuff. Fox records their well-borne sufferings. More than a hundred names are preserved of those who were burned to death. The Lollards' tower fitted up for their imprisonment and torture by Chicheby, Archbishop of Canterbury, in 1414, is a monument to their miseries. The first Lollards in England, the place of their greatest fame, came from Germany. Wycliffe's Lollards[4] were at first chiefly Oxford men,[5] trained by their leader himself, and sent out as "poor priests"[6] to teach a plain and simple gospel of faith. Later no distinction was made between priests and laymen, it being taught by Wycliffe that the divine call and commandment are entirely sufficient for ministering. From the first these "evangelical men," as they were also named, had the common people with them,[7] and later many of the

[4] "Life of Wiclif," LeBas, in cap. x names and describes the labors and views of several of the more noted of these men.

[5] "Wyckliffe and the Lollards," Carrick, p. 132. Wilson, infra, p. 158.

[6] John Laird Wilson, "John Wyckliffe, Patriot and Reformer," says "Wycliffe anticipated Wesley. His itinerants, or 'poor priests,' as they were popularly named, were the Methodists of the fourteenth century." P. 160.

[7] That the influence of Wycliffe and of Lollardism tended also to democracy in civil government is shown by Lewis Sergeant, "John Wyclif," p. 260-267. He declares, p. 347, "Lollardy was in fact the keystone of the arch whereon the newer liberties of Englishmen are supported."

gentry and nobles as well.[8] They wore long russet gowns with deep pockets, used simple direct language, abhorred oaths, avoided dogma, and dealt unsparingly with vices, including those of the "official" Christians. With the greatest earnestness and persistency they appealed to "Goddis Worde" and besought men to join "Christ's sect." In 1395 the Lollards presented a petition to Parliament urging drastic Church reform, the very fact of its reception indicating the strength of the movement,[9] even after the death of its leader. But enemies proved too strong for their safety, many being put to death after the act of Parliament of 1401 making death the penalty of heresy. Among these in 1417 was Sir John Oldcastle, Baron Cobham. More than half a century later, in the first year of the Tudors, 1485, burnings again occurred. These deplorable events became so frequent in 1511 as to call forth the heartless jest of Erasmus that he could now, less than ever, forgive those who with winter at hand were thus raising the price of faggots. It will be seen that the activity of the Lollards persisted throughout the entire two centuries from their origin to the Reformation. With reference to their position as pre-Reformation Protestants, little difference of view exists. "It is no pernicious novelty," said the Bishop of London when the Lutheran doctrine began to be preached, "it is only new arms being added to the band of Wycliffite heretics." But Fuller declares, "These men were sentinels against an army of enemies till God sent Luther to relieve them."

After their persecutions ended, the Lollards gradually decreased in numbers. During the sixteenth century they were absorbed into the reformed Churches. About 1530 a mass of literature was collected which contained the message of the Lollards and which in its

[8] "Life of John Wicliff," Gilpin, p. 52.

[9] "Wycliffe Anecdotes," Green, p. 131.

"Sum of the Scriptures" contained a strong social note. In its later years the movement was marked by Anabaptist influences.

A time of widespread misery is almost certain to witness a "New Devotion,"[10] called forth by the spirit of Christ in response to the common need. As the fourteenth century drew to its close the world and the Church were alike sick *in extremis*. It is a dismal picture of strife, uncertainty, and distress which the historian presents. Turmoil had characterized the whole century,[11] and its evils were not lessened, but were accentuated toward the close. Factional conflicts, rebellions, and wars ate out the life of Europe; commerce was reduced; finances were in a sad plight; the divided papacy was destroying piety and increasing moral laxity; "with the year 1378," says Professor Lodge,[12] begins a period of anarchy and confusion." It is true that underneath all of these evils the Renaissance was beginning silently to work its leaven of new culture, but the dawn of a better age of faith and conduct was as yet far off. "The body of Christianity," wrote Gerson at the time, "is covered with sores from head to foot." Nothing was left to those who were heart-hungry save to become examples and prophets of the Church Invisible and to sow the seeds of a religion of experience and of simplicity.

Mysticism had previously been permeated with scholasticism. Dionysius and Erigena were too powerful, and the social aspects of Christianity were not sufficiently emphasized or practiced. Hence arose in nearly all Christendom, produced by a mingled craving for

[10] The name was applied to themselves by the disciples of the new Mysticism. For the condition which produced them, see Ullman, op. cit., Bk. III, Part 2, p. 58.

[11] "Ten Centuries of European Progress," Lowis Jackson, "Chapters on General Development, Political Condition, and Record of Progress," p. 105. seq.

[12] "The Close of the Middle Ages," R. Lodge, p. 182.

God and compassion for a suffering humanity, exponents and leaders of a life both inwardly devout and serviceable. In Italy, Catherine of Siena, Chancellor Gerson in France, Bridget in Sweden, Hilton in England, and in Holland Groote, represent this new consecration to a combined spirituality and love, whose richest development is in the land and society which gave to the world the most celebrated book classed among mystical writings, the "Imitation of Christ."

The institution of the clerks or Brothers of the Common Life or Lot[13] is attributed to the influence of Gerhard Groote, called the Great, born in Deventer 1340, educated at Paris, and who died greatly mourned by his disciples at the early age of forty-four. Thomas à Kempis is authority for his relation to the brotherhood, referring to him as *"Nostræ devotionis fundator."*[14] However, the suggestion came from his disciple Florentius, as the author of the "Chronicle of Windesheim"[15] relates. One day this youth said to Gerhard, "Dear Master, what harm would it do were I and these clerks, who are here copying, to put our weekly earnings into a common fund together?" "Live together!" was the response; "the mendicant monks would do their worst to prevent us."[16] "But what," said Florentius, "is to prevent us making the trial? Perhaps God would give us success." "Well, then," Gerhard exclaimed, "in God's name commence. I will be your advocate, and faithfully defend you against all who rise up against you." With this permission a society was formed, under the patronage and personal care of Groote, whose own character had been conformed to

[13] Ullman, op. cit., devotes his Book III to this society, and R. M. Jones, op. cit., gives chapter xiv to its history.

[14] "Life of Florentius," Thomas à Kempis, Preface.

[15] John Buschius, or Busch ("Chronicon Canonicorum Regularium Ord. S. Aug. Capituli Windesemensis," Antwerp, 1621).

[16] The Chronicle of Windesheim shows that this fear was not mistaken.

apostolical ideals by the influence first of Heinrich of Kalker, a devout Carthusian,[17] and later of Jan Ruysbroek,[18] whom he visited at the monastery of Grünthal, and from whom, says his famous disciple, "he heard many secrets of heaven,"[19] some of which he committed to writing lest he might forget them. Ruysbroek is the link between the Friends of God and the new society. The whole thought of the Brothers of the Common Life was to combine for the cultivation of genuine piety. "All lived in community, in poverty, chastity, and perfect obedience to their superiors," is the somewhat stereotyped description of Dr. Cruise,[20] "all worked for the common good, and contributed their earnings to the general fund, spending any vacant time in prayer, pious reading, works of charity, and almsgiving." "And the multitude of believers had but one heart and one soul. For neither was there any one needy among them, for as many as were owners of lands or houses sold them and brought the price of the things they had sold and laid it down before the feet of the apostles."[21] Brother-houses arose, whose inmates were not conventual in separation from the world, but made common cause without infringing the rights of private liberty. The members were not placed under permanent vows, and unlike the mendicants and thus exciting their jealousy,[22] they lived upon their own labor and resources without begging. They wore a simple garb and lived simply. "The grand object of the so-

[17] "Among the Carthusians the light of Heavenly Life remained, though concealed."—Thomas à Kempis, "Vita Gerh.," chapter iv. The writings of à Kempis and Busch are the contemporary authorities.

[18] Supra, under "Friends of God," p. 80.

[19] The interview is recorded in chapter x, "Thomas à Kempis," op. cit.

[20] "Thomas à Kempis," F. R. Cruise, M. D., p. 46.

[21] Acts IV, 32, 34, 35.

[22] "Gerhard Groote the Great," M. T. Kelley, "The Month, A Catholic Magazine," October, 1896.

cieties," says Ullman,[22] "was the establishment, exemplification, and spread of practical Christianity."[24] Groote, who was never a priest, was an ardent, popular preacher, using the vernacular with power. He effected many conversions, loved prayer and the Scriptures,[25] and lived the life which he proclaimed, as most faithfully did many of his followers. Moreover, the brothers gave attention to the education of the young, the transcription of manuscripts relating to religious and scientific subjects, and in their houses were used some of the first printing-presses. The master placed all emphasis in education upon the formation of good lives. He had it in mind to found a monastic order, but this was left to Florentius, whom he appointed as his successor. Groote did not live to see his brotherhood degenerate, nor could he have foreseen the flowering of his genius in his most famous follower, who was but four years of age when he died. There has been considerable controversy as to Groote's relation to reformation doctrines. A writer[26] in the *Month*, a Catholic magazine, admits that he "unhesitatingly attacked the evil lives of many of his hearers and he strongly denounced the abuses of excessive wealth and idleness that existed in some of the monasteries," but he adds: "These stern denunciations of such abuses have induced many Protestants to consider Gerhard Groote as one of Luther's precursors, a mistaken idea which is fully refuted by the fact that he ever raised his voice in warning against all heresies, especially the doctrines of Wyclif, the Lollard. He was known as the *Ketzenhammer* (Hammer of Heretics), an epitaph which could scarcely be applied to a forerunner of Luther and Calvin." J. P.

[22] Op. cit., Bk. III, Part 2, cap. i, p. 71.

[24] Jones, "Stud. Myst. Relig.," p. 320, says, "Their emphasis was on practice rather than on contemplation."

[25] "Vita Gerh. à Kempis," chapters xii, xiii, xiv.

[26] M. T. Kelly, October, 1896.

Arthur, introducing his translation of "Thomas à Kempis," makes the same argument more spaciously. On the other hand Ullman, Kettlewell, and others quote words which seem to point to a break with the Church in principle, if not in act. "The decadence of the Church is visible in everything. We suffer especially in the chief, the pope. I hold indisputably that the luminaries of the Church must be overthrown."[27] Groote's suspension from preaching by the pope, perhaps never lifted during the later years of his life, is also cited, his obedience being explained as due to his disposition and to the circumstances. Professor Dargan speaks broadly, "The influence of his life and of his brotherhood was great in producing other preachers of evangelical tendencies and in preparing the way for the Reformation."[28]

Two years after Gerard's death, with six of the brethren, Florentius Radewyn founded the monastery and theological schools known as the Circle of Windesheim. He developed the whole brotherhood, which extended widely. He had been converted by the preaching of Groote,[29] and fully adopted his ideas of humility and simplicity. à Kempis relates[30] that, needing a new cloak, he asked the tailor, "Do you know how to make a mean garment?"—intending not an old[31] garment, as one has said, but one plain to the extreme. Florentius fed the poor, cared for the sick, washed beggars, lived the life of a devoted ascetic, gave laws to the brotherhood, commending always "the unity of Brotherly Love."[32] He was the mainspring and soul of these religious communities. "He was the flower

[27] "Thomas à Kempis," S. Kettlewell, Vol. I, 149 and 150.
[28] "History of Preaching," E. C. Dargan, p. 330.
[29] "Life of Florentius," Thomas à Kempis, chapter vi.
[30] Ibid, chapter xi.
[31] Jones, op. cit., p. 322, note 1.
[32] à Kempis, op. cit., chapter xxviii.

and model of the devout life to which all the brethren looked up."[33] "He may be considered as the second founder of the society, and contributed even more than Gerhard himself to the full development of its institutions."[34]

The work of Florentius, as well as that of his master, was brought to its height in Thomas à Kempis, whose influence upon the world has been so profound. His real name was Haemerlein, or Haemerken (a little hammer), and he was born of humble parents about 1380 in Kempen, near Cologne, from which place the name à Kempis is derived. At thirteen years of age he followed his brother John to the schools of the Brethren of the Common Life at Deventer, Holland. There he came under the influence of Florentius, whose presence inspired and deeply influenced his life. "He first launched me for the service of God, and in the fullness of time steered me to the haven of the monastery."[35] In 1400 Thomas united with the community at Mount St. Agnes, where he passed seventy years, and where was produced the book which has given him so large a place in Christian history. In this instance the work is the man. Thomas à Kempis sinks out of sight behind his great creation. He became sub-prior, and procurator of the monastery; there are records of his inner struggles and of his useful labors; his benign influence upon his disciples is a matter of history, but the writings are the real title to the world's interest.

Modern criticism, after discussing strenuously the claims of many rivals, Walter Hilton, Chancellor John le Charlier de Gerson, St. Bernard, and an unknown Abbot Gerson of Vercelli, holds Thomas Haemerlein's authorship of the "Imitation of Christ" to be firmly

[33] Kettlewell, op. cit., I, p. 210.

[34] Ullman, op. cit., Bk. III, Part 2, cap. ii.

[35] "Life of Florentius," à Kempis, Preface, 4.

established.[36] This is not the place to discuss the merits or to undertake the exposition of this remarkable work, representing a scheme of holy living and dying. Views about it are not all favorable. It was criticised severely by Dean Milman, who charged that the Imitation begins and ends in self. "That which distinguishes Christ's religion—the Love of Man—is entirely and absolutely left out."[37] De Montmorency ably replies[38] to this statement and to similar objections, quoting such expressions as "*si portari vis, porta et alium,*"[39] "He does well that serves the community rather than his own will,"[40] "If thou intend and seek nothing else but the pleasure of God and the good of thy neighbor, thou shalt enjoy perfect internal freedom."[41] Thackeray's severe strictures are answered in the same excellent treatise,[42] which also quotes the tributes of a host of eminent persons. Joseph Shaylor also names as "amongst those who have testified to its stimulating influence such able and varied workers as General Gordon, John Wesley, Dr. Pusey, George Eliot, W. E. Gladstone, and John Keble.[43] Azarias, a Brother of the Christian schools, in his essay on the spiritual sense of the Imitation, has recorded several charming accounts of the power of this writing in the lives of a Moorish prince, of Louis XVI, of La Harpe in prison, and of a troubled woman.[44] George Eliot's use of the Imitation in depicting the triumph of Maggie Tulliver is well known.[45]

[36] See Introduction, "Thomas à Kempis, His Age and Book," J. E. G. De Montmorency. Also chapter on "Master Walter Hilton and the Authorship," p. 139, seq.

[37] "History of Latin Christianity," Book XIV, cap. 3.

[38] Ut supra, Book XIV, chapter iii.

[39] "Imitation of Christ," Lib. II, cap. iii.

[40] Ibid, Lib. I, cap. xv.

[41] Ibid, Lib. II, cap. iv.

[42] De Montmorency, op. cit., pp. 275, 276.

[43] "Some Favorite Books and Their Authors," Article "Thomas à Kempis," p. 155.

[44] "Phases of Thought and Criticism," Brother Azarias, pp. 119-122.

[45] "Mill on the Floss," Bk. IV, chapter iii.

No doubt it must be held that this book is too strongly introspective,[46] and that it is cast in the mediæval mold, but with these reservations it must be regarded as being not only one of the most sincere expressions of Christian devotion, but as a work whose influence upon human character and life has been most salutary. It has been denied, though not successfully, that the "Imitation" is a mystical writing. The general opinion is that it represents the highest level of its age and the *summum studium* of the Brothers of the Common Life. To have produced one such author and book would be sufficient glory for any institution.

Another great name associated with this order is John Wessel. Educated in the Brother's institution at Zwolle, and profoundly impressed by Thomas à Kempis,[47] and later by John of Cologne, he became an original and aggressive thinker and teacher of such a reformatory spirit as led Luther to say of him, "If I had read his works before, my enemies might have supposed that I learnt everything from Wessel, such a perfect coincidence there is in our opinions."[48] Wessel is the link between the mystics and the Reformation. At the period of the later movement the Brethren of the Common Life were forced to choose between becoming Protestants, which step was taken by many of them, and turning their institutions formally into Catholic monasteries, which occurred in the sections where the reform spirit was weakest. The Jesuits dispossessed them of part of their establishments, and at length the institution ceased. "In this issue, however, nothing

[46] "'The Imitation of Christ' is by no means the last word of Christianity. It is not a full account of the gospel of Jesus Christ, . . . but the heart of it is sound and genuine." "Studies in Mystical Religion," Jones, p. 331.

[47] Ullman, op. cit., thinks the influence reciprocal, and may have helped free the Imitation from many ingredients of the Catholicism of the time. Book IV, Part I, cap. i, 274.

[48] Luther, preface to Leipsic ed., 1552, writings of Wessel.

essential was lost, for all the good at which the Brethren aimed had been transferred into the general civilization of the age, and the spirit of apostolical, free, earnest, popular, and practical piety had found representatives who far excelled Gerhard, Florentius, and Thomas. It had formed a society which rose above the narrow limits of a Brother-house to the liberty, height, and comprehensive greatness of a Church."[49]

[49] Ullman, op. cit., Bk. III, Part 4, cap. ii, p. 177.

VIII

GUILDS AND SECRET SOCIETIES

TRADE AND SOCIAL FRATERNITIES

A CLASS of societies called Guilds[1] deserves attention in connection with that period of the Middle Ages through which our thought is passing. The word "guild," or "gild," is of Old English origin and refers to a set payment.[2] A guild is therefore a company of those who pay, the essential principle being the banding together for mutual help. The idea of association for the common good is of ancient origin. The Romans, as we have seen, had societies for good fellowship, for the interests of their crafts, for religion, and for sickness and burial. So also the Greeks had the Eranoi or Thiasoi, which were more closely akin to the mediæval guilds than were the Roman collegia.[3] In the best discussions of early Church history it is stated that from the beginning Christianity made use of these already existing societies and adapted them to her purposes,[4] and when

[1] Walford in "Gilds," p. 1, says Guild is erroneous spelling.

[2] Another derivation is from the Danish "gilde," feast, banquet; or from the Welsh "gwyl;" Breton "goel;" Dutch "gulde," feast or holiday; "History and Development of Guilds," Brentano, Contents, note 1. Walford thinks ("Gilds," p. 2) the word signifies "a body of men associated together under oath for a common purpose."

[3] Staley in "The Guilds of Florence," however, says: "The origin of the Florentine Guilds has been rightly traced to the Corporations of Merchants and Artisans, which existed in Rome under Numa Pompilius. They were called 'Collegia' or 'Corpora Opificum et Artificium.'" p. 33. Coote also, in "Ordinances of the Secular Gilds of London," considers it proved that the English Guilds are to be regarded as of Roman, not of Anglo-Saxon origin, the Saxons having found the colleges already in existence, which they shaped to conformity to their own institutions.

[4] See Hatch, "Bampton Lectures," p. 287, on extent to which early Christians availed themselves of details of existing pagan forms of organization.

Christianity was brought from the South into Northern Europe, as Brentano says, "the spirit of association received a mighty impulse and the gilds spread themselves rapidly under the influence of Christian doctrine."

The most important of the guilds of the Middle Ages were the peace, the social-religious, and the trade guilds.

Faith or peace guilds were associations for the mutual defense. Traces of them in Europe from the seventh century are indicated, for example, in the laws of Kings Alfred, Ina, and Athelstan, reproducing still older statutes. Abroad these societies extended over the continent, where, in the unsettled times of feudal strife, they were often greatly needed and most useful. They frequently maintained religious duties, but were not always wisely conducted or favorably looked upon by rulers, secular or ecclesiastic. Women were sometimes admitted, especially wives and daughters of guild-brothers, but they never shared in councils or administration.

The earliest and in some respects the most popular of the guilds were those denominated religious-social. Really the term includes societies almost purely social in character, although these were not numerous until after the Reformation, when they came to form a totally distinct class.[5] The religious guilds had a very remote antiquity in England. Their especial object was to unite the members in every exercise of religion, and especially to associate them in veneration of religious mysteries, and in honor of saints. They came to exist widely in all countries of Europe where the Roman Catholic religion held sway. People of all ranks took part in their functions. The members observed festivals with both gay and serious rites. Chief features often were the Scripture Pieces or Miracle Plays. In 1409

[5] Walford, "Gilds," pp. 18, 19.

the Guild of Parish Clerks of London performed the play "Creation of the World." The Gild of the Lord's Prayer[6] at York is an illustration of guilds founded with the purpose of performing such rites in perpetuity. The famous Oberammergau "Passion Play" is a continental instance of the same kind. The members of religious guilds were often equipped with livery which they wore on special occasions, and while it was usually emphasized in the statutes that mutual assistance and justice, not eating and drinking, were the principal objects to be sought, nevertheless there was much feasting, and excessive drinking-bouts sometimes occurred.

The so-called "Gilds of the Kalendars"[7] are not given our attention, as they were the only guilds composed wholly of ecclesiastics, although at a late period laymen sometimes had a part even in these societies.

Trade-guilds, for which beginnings antedating Christianity have been claimed,[8] were of two orders: guilds-merchant and craft-guilds. The uncertain state of mediæval society made it seem wise for merchants to combine for the protection of their interests, and sometimes the law of the guild became later the law of the community as a whole.[9] The great cities[10] and the continent substituted the trade-guild for that of merchants. Various crafts bound themselves together to insure good workmanship and to protect mutual profits.

Perhaps no better account of the origin of English trade guilds and of their development from merchant to craft foundations can be given than that of H. R.

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[6] Ibid, p. 255: "This play met with so much favor that many said, 'Would that this play could be kept up in this city, for the health of the souls and for the comfort of the citizens and neighbors.' "

[7] Walford, "Gilds," chap. v.

[8] See article "Brotherhoods," Chambers's "Journal," Apr. 24, 1869, p. 261.

[9] See chap. vi, "Influence of the Gild Upon the Municipal Constitution," "The Gild Merchant," C. Gross.

[10] See Norton, "Commentaries on London."

Fox Bourne in "Famous London Merchants."[11] This quaint little book says: "Little colonies of foreigners (Germans, Lombards, and Jews), bound together by strict rules and pledged in all ways to help one another in their various occupations, set the fashion of guilds or trading companies of Englishmen. When and how they first began we do not know. They seem to have existed in some shape even before the Norman Conquest, and soon after that event they became of great importance. Edward III, seeing how useful they were to the progress of commerce, and of the nation which owed so much to commerce, did all he could to strengthen them. Forty-eight separate guilds were recognized by him, between which the business of the city was divided. No one was allowed to take part in trade unless he was a member of the guild established for his special calling and bound himself to work in friendship with all the other members and to have no dealings with any unlawful traders who were members of no guilds. One good feature in these guilds was the care with which they were pledged to assist their aged and unfortunate members and the orphans of all who died young, excellent relics of which appear in the many city charities now existing. They were not merely good, however, but necessary to the times. The times were too violent and commerce was too small and weak for separate traders to be able to hold their own against tyrannical barons at home, pirates on the sea, and enemies in foreign lands. It was only by association that they became strong, and certainly strength came thus to the merchants of the Middle Ages."

Some of the old guilds were devoted to work which modern merchants would repudiate. The chandlers, the masons, the bakers, the hatters, the barbers, the painters, the wood-sawyers, and the brush-makers were

[11] Harper Bros., 1869, pp. 22-5, largely taken, doubtless, from Lyson's "Model Merchant of the Middle Ages."

concerned in occupations that are now held proper for small tradesmen and artisans, not for merchants. Fishmongers are now generally plebeians; yet the Fishmongers' Guild was almost the most aristocratic, as well as the oldest, of the ancient city companies. These guilds were liveried, and sometimes appeared in pageants of great splendor, as when Richard II[12] was entertained at London with a vast procession including all the guilds, of which occasion a charmed reporter says, "None seeing this company could doubt that he looked upon a troop of angels."

For a long time the most influential of all English guilds were the grocers' and mercers', and the ancient Society of Merchants of the Staple, who were jobbers of materials for manufacture. The Brotherhood of Knights of St. Thomas à Becket occupied a hospital founded by a sister of Becket, Agnes de Helles and her husband, who appointed the mercers its patrons. The incorporation was by Henry IV, and the hospital and company were closely related until the Reformation.[13] The Company of Merchant Adventurers came from the mercers and took the famous motto, *"Dieu nous donne bonne adventure."*

In Europe the craft-guilds carried on prolonged political struggles against the aristocracy, and they gained the supremacy in some German cities. The constitutions of trade-guilds provided for the usual offices, including a master, or alderman. They also made provision for religious observances,[14] mutual aid, and

[12] With Whittington, Richard, who chartered them in 1393, has been regarded by some as co-founder of the Mercers. "The Liveried Companies of the City of London," W. Carew Hazlitt, p. 174. However, the Mercers date back to the time of Gilbert à Becket.

[13] "The City Companies of London," P. H. Ditchfield, pp. 18, 22.

[14] "The Craft-Gilds were like the rest of the Gilds, religious fraternities." Walford, "Gilds," p. 44. "The Company of Girdlers," W. D. Smythe, pp. 173-4, recounts the Church attendances of this guild, whose origin is referred by not very well founded tradition to a lay brotherhood of the Order of St Lawrence, who maintained themselves by making girdles, ut supra. p. 21.

burial. They were strictly local in their institutions, and were suited to conditions which were changed by the era of discovery and of modern industrial development.

In the early days of trade-guilds the meetings were convivial to the point often of intoxication, and even of more objectionable vulgarities. "The members drank their fill of Rhenish wine or German beer, and entertained each other with bacchanalian or warlike songs which had come down from the days of the vikings. The Church stepped in at length and proposed hymns instead of these heathenish ditties, establishing religious services for each separate guild—a custom still retained by such brotherhoods as the Odd Fellows and Foresters in England."[15] Authorities emphasize the "strongly religious character of the early guilds, and the punctiliousness of their religious observances at the shrine of their patron saints."

Not unrelated to the brotherhoods of merchants and of tradesmen have been associations of men practicing the same profession, such as the ancient and for a thousand years active and influential Order of the Coif, or Serjeants at Law, who for long held the exclusive right to practice in the English Court of Common Pleas and to become judges. That these fraternities were not unrelated to Christianity is seen in the remark of a sympathetic author, "Up to the time of the Reformation religious ceremonies were also mixed up with the legal forms and festive observances."[16] For a vast period of time St. Paul's, old and new, is associated with the Brothers of the Coif. Originally they met their clients in the sacred edifice, each man at his own pillar, chosen as his place of business. Here also were held the religious rites patronized by members of the order and associated with its customs; visits, offerings,

[15] Article "Brotherhoods," Chambers's "Journal," ut supra.

[16] "The Order of the Coif," "Edinburgh Review," Oct., 1877, p. 445.

and devotions being made at the shrines or monuments of saints and martyrs, which, says a modern Serjeant, "seem at this day hardly credible."[17] A survival of these historic usages have come down to recent times in the attendance of judges at St. Paul's.

The progress of the world gradually eliminated trade-guilds on account of their refusal to adapt themselves to less exclusive conditions, but they have survived in some form in several European countries, especially in Russia and in Austria. The Friendly Societies of Scotland have been shown to have descended from the old guilds. It has been denied that the trades-unions, which made their appearance during the eighteenth century, owe their origin to the guilds, but there seems no good reason to doubt that they represent a more definite and better organized application of many features of the older societies, an evolution in the course of economic progress and of growing democracy, with alas! too often hostility to religion. It is believed by many, however, that this attitude of organized labor is passing.

Without a doubt guilds, especially religious guilds, were often started and maintained by the best people from the purest of motives. They were frequently a check upon abusive language, violence, fraud, and irreligion. In the early period they were truly fraternal and of value to society at large. Gradually, however, baser motives crept in, and evil practices came to abound. This was true not only of the craft-guilds, of which we find Sigismund, Emperor of Germany, bitterly complaining in 1434 that they followed with partiality their own advantages only, to the public detriment, and of which the English Commons declared to Henry VI about the same time that they abused their privileges in a manner hurtful to the common profit:

[17] "The Order of the Coif," Alexander Pulling, pp. 243-45.

the religious guilds were also found to contain pernicious evils on account of which they were strongly condemned by many Christians. The Reformation shook all the guilds to their foundation, especially those "judged to be founded in superstition."[18] In all Protestant countries they were abolished. In England the act of Parliament of Henry VIII gave to the crown the properties and revenues of "all manner of corporations, gilds, fraternities, companies, and fellowships of mysteries or crafts."[19] This act became more fully operative in the next reign, but in the continental countries the property was allowed to go to the classes, especially the poor, for whose benefit it was originally intended. Only such guilds survived as "could take refuge under some form of public utility or corporate protection."[20] In countries which remained Roman Catholic the old religious guilds continued to be maintained, and there is a modern revival of similar societies in the Anglican Church.

The transition from the thought of guilds to that of secret societies is not difficult, since the most famous of the latter, the Freemasons, originated with the former. Secret societies are of very ancient origin. The aborigines had a bewildering profusion of mysteries.[21] China is honey-combed with orders which have existed for ages. The mysteries of Egypt and of the Orient, and the associations of priests and laymen to which they gave rise are to the regarded as forerunners of later organizations. "The earliest secret societies were not formed for political so much as for religious purposes,

[18] Madox, "Firma Burgi," p. 27, quoted in Walford, p. 82.

[19] Herbert, "History of the Twelve Livery Companies of London," Vol. I, p. 113, seq.

[20] Lambert, "Two Thousand Years of Gild Life," p. 390. Among other works on the general subject may be named "Guilds and Their Functions," Yeats; "A Gossip About Guilds," Andrews; "Guilds and Friendly Societies," Ludlow.

[21] See the elaborate work "Primitive Secret Societies," Hutton Webster, Ph. D., Macmillan Co., 1908.

embracing every art and science; wherefore religion has been truly called the archæology of human knowledge."[22]

It is not surprising that in spite of the very apparent opposition of Christianity to exclusiveness or to secrecy the ancient habit of society should have reasserted its power upon Christians in the more worldly periods and associations of Church history. The Hebrew Cabala,[23] the product of Judaic sects, was not without its influence. Pythagoras, the author of a philosophic and political fraternity,[24] and Plato and Heraclitus through their metaphysical occultism strongly affected, if they did not produce the early Gnostic sects, some of which ran into the most extreme and immoral delusions and practices.[25] "The Manichees gave a Christian varnish to the Persian fire-worship." In the seventh century arose many similar mixtures of Christianity with Zoroastrian and Magian elements, which were imitated by the sects of Islam. All these esoteric brotherhoods serve to illustrate the danger of "mysteries," whether called Christian or secular.

The Vehmgericht,[26] or Holy Vehm, was a fraternity of justice which was instituted in Westphalia about the middle of the thirteenth century because of gross confusion existing in all judicial affairs. This order instituted private or "free" courts. Its members were called "wissende," "knowing ones." These courts "took cog-

[22] "Secret Societies of All Ages and Countries," Charles William Heckethorn, Vol. I, p. 8.

[23] See Dr. Ginsburg's "Essay on the Kabbalah" for the history of this mystery and for a list of distinguished believers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Also "Kabbalah Unveiled," S. L. Mathers.

[24] "Mysteria," Otto Henne Am Rhyn, pp. 70-86. The author gives briefly an account of the Pythagorean League and its successor, the Orphici.

[25] For example, the Ophites, named from the serpent in Eden, the Antitacts, opponents of law, and the Adamites, who looked on marriage as the fruit of sin and held all carnal indulgence lawful.

[26] A name without English equivalent. "History of the People of the Netherlands," Blok, Vol. II, p. 89.

nizance of all offenses against the Christian faith, the Gospel, and the Ten Commandments."[27] The movement was attended with increasing secrecy and soon covered all Germany. Its power became terrible to evildoers, and for some time judgment was more impartially administered.[28] It has been estimated that in the middle of the fifteenth century more than one hundred thousand judges of the "free" courts were found in the empire, but abuses crept in, and by the end of the seventeenth century nearly all the organizations had disintegrated, though not till the close of the nineteenth century did the last free Graf disappear.[29] The Beati Paoli, Blessed Pauls,[30] of Italy were a similar society, probably of a less worthy nature. It is believed to have originated from schismatic Franciscans and, while it was soon suppressed, is sometimes claimed to exist as a secret society of Avengers in Sicily.

One of the most mysterious of all secret societies is that mythical fraternity, which nevertheless produced various individual and associated devotees, and which is called the Rosicrucians. A learned German theologian, Johann Valentin Andreae, or Andreas, is by many believed to have written anonymously, about 1612 or 1614, a work entitled "Fama Fraternitas, R. C." or Rosaceae Crucis, calling upon European savants to join a society said to have been founded two hundred years before by Christian Rosenkreuz. During a pilgrimage

[27] "Secret Societies," Heckethorn, Vol. I, p. 201. Thomas Keightley, "Secret Societies of the Middle Ages," p. 400, says, "But it was the more helpless and oppressed classes of society, more especially the unhappy serfs, that most rejoiced in the existence of the Fehm-tribunals; for there only could they hope to meet with sure redress."

[28] Petrus Johannes Blok, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 40.

[29] The graf, now count, was the court president. The grafs came to be first standing officials, then hereditary lords proprietary. "Mysteria," op. cit., pp. 149 and 161.

[30] Derivation of name unknown. Some think the founder's name was Paul, others that St. Paul's name was taken as of one who before conversion was a bearer of the sword. For a brief account see "Memoirs of the Carbonari," London, 1821, pp. 38 and 39.

to the Holy Land the reputed founder had acquired, it was claimed, much occult wisdom of the East. It was an age of interest in pseudo-science, and valuable alchemic secrets were declared to be held by this brotherhood. The society was put forth as Christian and Protestant,[31] and its exploitation created an intense interest; gradually its unreality was discovered, but charlatans and schemers seized eagerly upon the ideas suggested, and a great literature sprang up. Recent works hold very diverse opinions about the Rosicrucian Brotherhood and concerning Andreae's relation to its origin. A most profuse and credulous writer[32] acts as an exploiter of a modern theosophical alchemism, making Rosicrucianism, whose ancient history he affirms, ridiculous to a sane mind, but dangerous to addle-pates. A Church historian[33] holds that Andreae wrote the book attributed to him as a satire on his times, and especially as a rebuke to alchemic and esoteric pretensions. Astounded by being taken as earnestly advocating these very evils, he founded a "Christian Brotherhood for the purpose of purging religion of abuses and planting true piety."[34] Another student of Rosicrucianism thinks Andreae may have been in his youth a member of the Militia Crucifera Evangelica, gathered in 1598 at Lunenburg by the theosophical mystic, Simon Studion, and which was saturated with alchemical ideas and made Rosicrucian proclamations. Later in life he lost his boyish delusions, and having proved the hollowness of Rosicrucianism, he denounced it as a deception and mockery, and attempted to replace it with a prac-

[31] "Violent anti-papal prejudices and ultra-Protestant principles are sufficient proof of a post-Lutheran origin."—"Real History of the Rosicrucians," Arthur Edward Waite, p. 213.

[32] Hargrave Jennings, "The Rosicrucians, Their Rites and Mysteries," etc., 2 Volumes, London, 1887.

[33] Arnold, "Kirchen und Ketzer-Historie."

[34] "Mysteria," O. Henne Am Rhyn, p. 178. In "Turris Babel," chap. xxv, Andreae proposes his Christian fraternity in place of the Rosicrucians.

tical Christian association, non-mystical, and without occultism.[35] Modern Rosicrucian survivals are found in various countries, and a Mason's degree is called by this name. The Knights of the Rosy Cross have placed the imagination and the mythopœic aspiration of the world in lasting debt. An offshoot which became very numerous was the order of Brothers of the Golden Rosy Cross.

The Carbonari, or Charcoal-burners, of Italy and France were perhaps descended from the societies of colliers (Kohlenbrenner) and hewers of Northern Europe. Their mission was political, but in order to draw recruits from the simple-minded class of religionists they used a ritual based in part on the sacrifices and sufferings of Christ.[36]

The term Illuminati has been applied to several distinct secret orders of religious enthusiasts. A writer in the *Dublin University Magazine*[37] points out that the first use of the word is distinctively Christian, based on the term Φωτισθέντες, used of the baptized disciples of Christ in Hebrews 6:4 and 10:32, to signify their enlightenment in the mysteries of the faith. The Alombrados of Spain in the latter part of the sixteenth century were the first organization to assume this title. They were attached to devotion, rather than to sacraments and good works.[38] While probably with their Lutheranism they held indefensible gnostic and theosophical views, it may be that they have been badly represented by the friends of the Inquisition, which soon suppressed them. The French Guerinets were apparently fanatics who had a vision of a religion above Christianity. They did not long survive the year of

[35] For this hypothesis, and an account of all theories, vide "Real History of the Rosicrucians," Waite, chap. viii.

[36] See Heckethorn, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 99, description of second degree. "Memoirs of the Carbonari," ut supra.

[37] Jan., 1873, p. 67.

[38] Ibid, p. 70.

their birth, about 1634, and, like the similar society in Belgium in the eighteenth century, their career was of relatively little importance.

Opposition to the Jesuits was the cause of the most formidable and far-reaching organization of Illuminati,[39] which was instituted 1775 to 1777 by Professor Adam Weishaupt of the University of Ingolstadt, in Bavaria. Weishaupt had been educated in the Society of Jesus, and there acquired much subtlety and skill, joined to inveterate hostility to the Jesuitical system. From the Freemasons, whose ranks were filled with the lately suppressed Jesuits, he borrowed much of the organization which he established, and which, with the aid of Baron Knigge, a Masonic disciple, he made strong. The aim was to establish the dominion of reason and to promote religious and political enlightenment without dogmas or the established forms of worship.[40] This order of perfectibilists gathered many converts from the most intellectual and powerful classes, but the tyrannical plan of the organization and an unfortunate quarrel between Weishaupt and Knigge gave its enemies an opportunity to attempt its overthrow, which was finally accomplished. The movement was succeeded by several unworthy orders, such as the Deutsche Union, a "silent brotherhood," founded by a knave.[41] The part which Illuminism played in the French Revolution is discussed in an elaborate article in the *Edinburgh Review* for 1906, as well as in many histories.

Of all secret societies the most extensive and the most influential is that known as Freemasonry,[42] which in symbolism, if not in its deeds, gathers up into itself

[39] "Secret Societies of the European Revolution," Thomas Frost, Vol. I, p. 23, et seq; also Heckethorn.

[40] A considerable and fairly appreciative account is given in "Mysteria," Am Rhyn, Part 11, p. 216 ff.

[41] Idem, p. 226.

[42] Chambers's "Journal," 1869, Article "Brotherhoods," p. 263. Even a larger claim is here made.

elements from all previous fraternities, sects, mysteries, religions, and superstitions. One of its most representative and elaborate histories speaks of the fraternity as "a union of all unions" and as "the most comprehensive of all human confederacies;"[43] and indeed, when one considers the various and opposing races and philosophies included under the term Freemasons, the claim seems to be abundantly sustained. Without a doubt this character of cosmopolitanism is so marked that various individuals and branches of Masonry in diverse parts of the world, if thrown together, would find themselves, whatever may be their oaths, to be enemies. For example, most Americans are out of harmony with the main ideals and practices of the Grand Orient of France, which lodge is, indeed, not recognized by Masons in America and Great Britain, being without profession of belief in a Supreme Being. The African lodges of America are fully recognized by several European grand lodges, but not by the lodges of their own land. The associations of Mormon Masonry would doubtless be distasteful to great numbers of Masons outside of the territory dominated by a spurious and polygamous type of Christianity.

It is fortunate for the reputation of Freemasonry that the ridiculous pretences of ancient origin,[44] which the fraternity long shared with most other secret societies, and from which some of its most credulous representatives have not yet been able to divorce them-

[43] "History of the Ancient and Honorable Fraternity of Free and Accepted Masons, and Concordant Orders," H. L. Stillson; Editor-in-Chief, Wm. J. Hughan, European Ed., p. 87.

[44] Mackey wisely devotes the entire first volume of his exhaustive work, as well as part of the second, to what he calls "Prehistoric Masonry." "The History of Freemasonry," Albert Gallatin Mackey, M. D., New York, 1898. In Vol. II, p. 407, he says, "I fall back, therefore, upon that theory which since the time of the Abbé Grandidier has been gradually gaining strength, and which connects the Speculative Masonry of our own times with the Operative Masonry of the Middle Ages." See also Vol. III, p. 876.

selves,[45] have been discredited by competent Masonic authorities. It has long been the tendency of certain Europeans to seek the most ancient Oriental derivation for the fraternity. Anderson, Oliver, and others traced its mysteries to the foundation of the world, and to God as their author. Various claimants began the account of Masonry with the building of Solomon's Temple and regarded the king as the first grand master. Not a few traced its roots to the earlier secret societies of Europe and Asia,[46] while for a long time the order was supposed to date from the Crusades and the Knights Templars. The nature of Masonry itself disproves all these claims, as no such composite fraternity could date from the periods assigned, and it is now seen to be proven that the error of the early writers is based on the tendency to transfer borrowed symbolism to the period from which it was taken, and to find therein evidence of continuous descent.[47] The Freemasons date from the early portion of the eighteenth century, and are descendants of the Steinmetzen (stone-masons) of Germany and of similar building associations elsewhere in Europe. The terms "free" and "accepted" are variously explained. It is sometimes taught that "free" is from the Norman "frère" or brother, but more likely it originally re-

[45] It is regrettable to read such productions, put forth in the name of history, as that contained in the "Origin of Freemasonry and Knights Templar, 1907," John R. Bennett. In the most naive and childlike way the author turns from his account of Syrian mysteries to the Roman colleges of 716 B. C., saying as he goes to his modern (!) descriptions, "In passing from this brief outline of the fraternity in what we may properly (!) denominate the ancient history, we will now endeavor to trace its progress from that period to the more enlightened days of modern architecture."

[46] Emmanuel Rebold, M. D., in his "General History of Freemasonry in Europe," Paris, 1860, begins with primitive peoples of Southern Asia, with Hinduism, and the Egyptian mysteries, and then founds more pretentiously on the Colleges of Builders of Numa Pompilius, 715 B. C.

[47] William James Hughan, "History of the Ancient," etc., op. cit., Intro., says: "Freemasonry undoubtedly has adopted and absorbed not a few of the usages and customs of antiquity. For this reason many have looked upon the two as continuous developments of one and the same society, *but erroneously so.*" The italics are his own.

ferred either to one who worked in free-stone[48] or to one who had passed beyond the "cowan" or apprentice stage, and therefore was a free-man in his craft, by whom he was "accepted" as such.

In its beginnings as a trade-guild, Freemasonry was based on distinctively Christian principles and practices.[49] "The Cosmopolitan basis of the society," says a skilled writer, "which was later adopted, did not wholly satisfy the brotherhood. Initiation and membership without regard to creed, color, or clime was an extraordinary departure from the previous Christian foundation of the society."[50] "I am of the opinion," adds the same authority, "that to the dislike of the unsectarian character of the fraternity from 1717 is due the origination and spread of Masonic degrees for professing Christians only, from about 1735, or before." As to the underlying intent and purpose of Masonry with reference to Christianity, a diversity of views is found in the writings of the craft. A writer previously referred to,[51] and as unquestionably devoted to Masonry as he is unhistorical and inconsistent in his statements, declares: "Freemasonry is not only a universal science, but a world-wide religion, and owes allegiance to no one creed, and can adopt no sectarian dogma as such without ceasing thereby to be Masonic. Drawn from the Kabbalah, and taking the Jewish or Christian verbiage or symbols, it but discerns in them universal truths, which it recognizes in all other religions." This attitude, at best, represents a late and perverted Masonry,

[48] See Mackey, op. cit., vol. III, chap. xxiii, "Two Classes of Workmen, or the Freemasons and the Rough Masons."

[49] As an illustration of the attitude of the Stonemasons, who were the forerunners of the Freemasons, take article xvii of "The Brother-Book of 1563," containing ordinances renewed in that year at the Chief Lodge at Strassburg, "No craftsman or master shall be received into the guild who goes not yearly to Holy Sacrament, or keeps not Christian discipline, or squanders his substance in play," etc.

[50] Hughan, op. cit., XXXIII.

[51] Bennett, op. cit., p. 97.

and another historian of the order, not less enthusiastic in his claims for its antiquity and value to the world, says, "Masonry will continue, as a means of God's appointment, to win the minds of men from the error of their ways until, in conjunction with all the other appointed means, the great end is accomplished, when 'every knee shall bow, and every tongue confess that Jesus is the Christ.'"[52]

At the beginning Freemasonry was purely operative; that is, was confined to persons working as stonemasons. During the great church-building period of the Middle Ages the Mason's Guild placed humanity in debt by the splendid aid which as builders they gave to religious leaders. As the guild declined, Speculative Masonry took its place, the operative Masons taking into their fellowship learned and prominent men from without, perhaps in order to enlist their aid against the nobility.[53] It is the theory of some that at first these members were honorary, or "accepted," as distinguished from their "free" brothers. Soon Speculative Masonry altogether displaced the operative order, and thus began the history of Freemasonry in its modern sense. Mackey says "the men of science and culture who had been admitted into their ranks thought they saw in the principle of brotherhood which was still preserved a foundation for another association, in which the fraternal spirit should remain as the bond of union and the doctrines of symbolism, hitherto practically applied to the science of architecture, should be in future directed to the illustration of the science of morality."[54] "Long afterward," he also says, "the successors of these founders of Speculative Freemasonry defined it to be 'a system of morality, veiled in allegory and illustrated by symbols.'"[55]

[52] Discussion of topic, Why Was Masonry Instituted? "Masonic History and Digest," J. W. S. Mitchell, M. D., Vol. II, chap. viii, p. 256.
[53] "Cyclopædia of Fraternities," A. C. Stevens, p. 20.
[54] Vol. IV, op. cit., p. 881.
[55] Ibid, p. 882.

The spread of Freemasonry was remarkable. It is represented in some form, recognized or unrecognized, in all countries, but in Russia it is proscribed, and in all Catholic countries its spread has been impeded by papal opposition to its secrecy. The greatest growth of Masonic orders is in Anglo-Saxon countries, and especially, in spite of a widespread opposition and defection in the first half of the nineteenth century, due to the Morgan trouble,[56] in the United States, where at the present time over a million members are claimed. Much opposition has developed, aside from that above mentioned. In Europe in the latter part of the eighteenth century, Masonry, with other secret societies, was accused of conspiracy against the existing order of faith and of society.[57] Various smaller Protestant bodies have attacked Masonry on the same ground as that of its Romanist opposition. Still the order flourishes, and presents a mixture of conflicting but associated principles.[58] The strong points of Masonry are its almost universal insistence upon the principal tenets of natural religion, its general decency of moral teaching, and its precepts of charity, which practice too largely restricts to its own members, and which is not an obligation. It is not the fault of a great many Freemasons that others deny in life all the moral preachments of the fraternity; that large numbers use it as a business or political rather than as a fraternal opportunity, or that in many instances it is made a cloak for the absence of Christianity, or even a weapon with which to attack the Church.

[56] For a discussion of this incident from the Masonic viewpoint, see Mitchell, op. cit., Vol. II, chap. vi, "Anti-Masonry in the United States." See "Masonry and Anti-Masonry," Creigh, Phila., 1854.

[57] See "Proofs of a Conspiracy Against All the Religions and Governments of Europe," etc., John Robinson, A. M., Edinburgh, and, in 1798, New York.

[58] See Compilations of Masonic teachings, as for example "Gems from the Quarry," J. H. Brownell, Detroit, 1893, particularly the brevities at the close.

The various degrees of Freemasonry are bewildering, even to its own historians, and their full description would be as unprofitable as it would be impossible to the most learned Mason. The success of Masonry has raised up a host of modern secret orders, three hundred of which Stevens says contain more than six millions of American members.[59] The results to social and religious interests of all this fraternalizing is more than doubtful, since many secret orders make no such professions of high principle as attend Freemasonry, and not a few are not only inimical to Christianity, but immoral.

[59] Op. cit., Introduction.

IX

BROTHERS OF PITY

HUMANE AND PHILANTHROPIC FRATERNITIES

THE distresses of the period in which the Crusades were organized gave birth to a new spirit of human love, and to charities whose influence has streamed down through the centuries with ever increasing force and value.

It has been seen that from the beginning Christianity was a gospel of brotherhood; which is not to say that no philanthropic associations and deeds characterized the ancient world. Much pauperism always existed in the great centers of population, and it was sometimes relieved at public expense.[1] Mutual assistance or insurance societies are said to have been formed in Greece, and in Trajan's time in Rome. Charitable bequests are mentioned in burial inscriptions, and the collegia to which reference has been made in this volume[2] cultivated the habit of equality and the fraternal spirit, though they felt little enthusiasm for humanity. Very just are the observations that "among the Greeks and the Romans the human person had no inherent worth. He was of importance only as a citizen. The majority of the subjects of these two great powers, being slaves, were without any legal rights. The poor, whether slaves or freemen, were treated by even the noblest and wisest of the Greeks and Romans with contempt, or at most

[1] "Gesta Christi," Charles Loring Brace, p. 97, quotes Naudet, "Mem. sur les secours publics chez les Romains," as authority for the statement that in the year 683 of the Roman Republic 33 per cent were supported at public expense.

[2] Vide supra, pp. 14, and 96-.

with that pity which is akin to contempt."[3] Hebrew charity possessed better motives, but was self-righteous and exclusive of aliens. The other Eastern nations present no better condition, even the type of civilization produced by Buddhism being negative and cold in its philanthropic principles.

Early Christianity has been criticized as having been too individualistic. Says a sociologist: "If the early Church had given as much attention to the social teaching of Jesus as to the individual emphasis of His message, and had preached these principles to governments and communities with the same emphasis, there would never have been the period of the Dark Ages, or the intrigues and cabals that brought on the wars following the Protestant Reformation, nor would the territory once populated by Christian peoples possessing the organized activities of a Christian civilization be now inhabited by the followers of Mohammed."[4] Without disputing this statement in so far as it relates to much of the time succeeding the Apostolic Age, it should not be forgotten that the early Church was fraternal,[5] that it absorbed the best principles and practices of the collegia, and that with its foundation began the modern conviction of the obligation resting on each man to do all in his power to wisely relieve human misery. Well indeed had it been for the world, as the author above quoted has said, if the plain teaching of Jesus Christ and the obvious lesson of Church organization had been

[3] "Catholic Dictionary." Article, "Charity." B. Randolph, Vol. III, p. 593. That the fact above cited was not without its influence upon the ultimate fate of the Roman Empire is well known. "Die Geschichte der Civilisation zeigt uns aber auch eine Gesellschaft welche so sehr in Selbstsucht und Genusssucht versunken war, dass sie zu Grunde gehen musste. Es war die römische Welt," etc. "Die Volkswirthschaft," Dr. Georg Ratzinger, p. 26.

[4] "Social Aspects of Religious Institutions," Edwin L. Earp, p. 84.

[5] Professor Rauschenbusch, as above stated, very ably controverts the idea that early Christianity was communistic in any other sense than that of generosity and of brotherhood, "Christianity and the Social Crisis," Walter Rauschenbusch, p. 120ff.

earlier recognized, if these facts had been given due weight: "He who enters a church surrenders individualism and gains individuality. He who lives in a highly developed society continually sacrifices individualism; but in and through society his individuality becomes vigorous. Thus it is again true that he who saves his life shall lose it, and he who loses his life shall find it."[6]

Modern study of social conditions ever more firmly fastens in Christian consciousness the idea that charity is not the best form of the distribution of goods.[7] Nevertheless it is one form of amelioration, and one which has always been imperative under conditions which have existed, and which are yet far from being entirely overcome.[8] So far as pauperism has been banished, and the evils of penury lessened, the result is to be attributed to the development of the Christian doctrine of the Brotherhood of Man, and to the remedial measures which this teaching has inspired. "The evolution which is slowly proceeding in human society is not primarily intellectual, but religious in character."[9] The fact has been noted that as the early centuries of Christian history passed, progress was made in the development of the fraternal idea, and also that the spirit of charity, which is after all the basis of later social improvements through educational, legal, and associational

[6] "Socialism and Social Reform," Richard T. Ely, p. 351.

[7] A somewhat unjust account of mediæval alms-giving and a true statement of evils attendant upon this form of relieving pauperism may be found in "Socialism and Christianity," Behrends, chap. viii, pp. 217 ff.

[8] E. De Pressensé. "Early Years of Christianity," p. 394, would seem to regard poverty as having constituted a special privilege. "We know," he says, "how high a place of honor is given to the poor in the Church of Christ. Poverty has preserved a reflected ray of the glory of Him who humbled Himself and became poor." While it may be true, as Fielding says, that "Charity does not adopt the vice of its object," it often fosters that vice, and perpetuates it. Yet it is going too far when kindness of heart and almsgiving are made responsible for any major portion of the world's pauperism. This accusation has been made, especially concerning the charity of the Middle Ages, but Uhlhorn, while admitting partial responsibility, well defends Christianity against the general charge, and remarks upon the evils which otherwise humanity would have suffered. "Christian Charity in the Ancient Church," p. 272.

[9] "Social Evolution," Benjamin Kidd, p. 268.

endeavors, but which from the middle of the ninth to the end of the eleventh century suffered from terrible demoralization, both of State and Church, came to its fine flower in the Middle Ages. From that time to the present practically all Christian brotherhoods have professed a true philanthropy, which indeed not a few have faithfully practiced. Their record proves that the military orders, the guilds, which owe their origin to mingled social, religious, and business instincts, and the great monastic societies of Benedictines, Cistercians, Dominicans, and Franciscans, during their better years were devoted to good works. Their philanthropies became the successors of diocesan charities, monasteries being centers and examples of religious life, of educational culture, of industry in the fields of agriculture and forestry, of hospitality to strangers, and of the care of the poor, of orphans, and of all needy and distressed souls.

Another order which in extension and in influence for four centuries ranked with those just named was that of the Premonstratensians, founded by Saint Norbert of Xanten, about 1120.[10] It was named from its first site, Prémontré (the field shown, or foreshown, having been pointed out in a vision), France. Norbert, who in youth was wild, was converted at the age of thirty-five, and became both a devotee and an evangelist. His order spread until by the end of the fifteenth century it had fifteen hundred monasteries, besides institutions for women, most of them being located in France, Germany, and Spain. Later a reform became necessary, and division resulted. The order suffered much from suppressions, and is not now strong, save in Austria and Holland.

Among orders comparatively unknown, if not obscure, are quite a number which, while not faultless in many respects, are yet worthy of much study and fre-

[10] "General History of the Catholic Church," Darras, Vol. III, p. 198.

quently of deep respect. It will be possible merely to name a few of the most representative of these, inasmuch as the lesser independent and related fraternities are so numerous as to defy description. Moreover, those to which reference is made are typical of the others.

The hospitals, Xenodochia, which originated as a product of Christian hospitality and charity, during the reign of Constantine, if not before, and which at first were probably under the personal care and government of the bishops,[11] and were located in their dwellings, soon came to be separate institutions, and many of them were managed by lay brotherhoods. At first these institutions were monastic, comprising both clergy and lay members; soon, however, the lay members, or brothers (conversi) sought and secured independence of the monks.[12] The first known instance is that of the institution of Soror, at Siena, 898, the Santa Maria Della Scala. Confraternities or sodalities, the origin of which was ancient, now increased, and at a later period religious congregations and associations began to flourish. The distinction between these various terms is not easy to generalize, and their use is variable.[13] All are erected by canonical authority. Confraternities, generally composed of laymen, are guided by ecclesiastical authority for the promotion of special works of Christian charity or piety. Associations usually have simpler rules, but are often devoted to the same purposes. In France, in the eighth and ninth centuries, the laws of

[11] "Christian Charity in the Ancient Church," Uhlhorn, p. 325 ff.

[12] "History of the Christian Church in the Middle Ages," Wilhelm Moeller, p. 353.

[13] "In a wider sense, all ecclesiastical associations of laymen in the Roman Catholic Church, for contemplative, ascetic, or practical purposes, are called congregations. In a more special sense, ecclesiastical congregations are associations which, like monastic orders, lead a common life and are bound by vows. They differ from the monastic orders by not demanding from their members the vow of poverty, by binding them to less stringent or to no rules of retirement from the world, and frequently prescribing only the simple vow of chastity." McClintock and Strong.

the Carlovingians mention confraternities and guilds. Archconfraternities are those which have been extended widely.

The very practical purposes of many fraternities commended themselves instantly. The Italian Pericolanti, for example, protected the virtue of young girls, the society of St. Jerome della Carita was devoted to the care of prisoners, the fraternity of St. Giovanni Decollato attended culprits to execution. Reference has already been made to the burial societies of Cologne and of other cities of Europe. Attention should be given also to the Bridge-builders,[14] Fratres Pontifices, of Southern France and of Tuscany. In the latter part of the twelfth century, since travelers had little security, especially in passing rivers, and as they were subjected to violent demands of banditti, to put an end to these distresses the Brothers of the Bridge instituted an association or confraternity which was received with much favor. The stated objects were to build bridges, establish ferry boats, and to receive travelers in their hospitals on the shores of rivers. These labors the Church held to be meritorious,[15] and indulgences were granted to participants in them. The first establishment was on the Durance at a dangerous place called Maupas, but which, from the accommodation there received, acquired the name of Bonpas. Gautier relates of St. Bénézet that as a shepherd lad of twelve years he received a divine command to undertake bridge-building over the

[14] Consult Hélyot-Badiche, "Dictionnaire des ordres religieux," III, 237; Grégoire, "Recherches historiques sur les congregations de frères pontifes."

[15] In the "Vision of Piers Ploughman," Truth, among other good works, recommends the wealthy English merchants—

"And wikkede weyes (bad roads)
Wightly amende,
And do boote to brugges (bridges)
That to-broke were."

If they will do the good deeds suggested, St. Michael shall be sent in their last moments to drive away devils. "Vision of Piers Ploughman," Langland, 4517-20.

Rhone at Avignon. On his arrival the Bishop of Avignon was preaching to fortify his people against a solar eclipse. Bénézet raised his voice in the church and said that he was come to build a bridge. The bishop and magistrates repulsed the youthful enthusiast, but the people endorsed his project, and they had their way. The undertaking began in 1176 and was completed in twelve years.[16] Every one contributed work or money under the direction of Bénézet and the brothers. On the third pier was erected a chapel to St. Nicholas, patron of those who navigate rivers, and when the leader died, in 1184, his body was buried in this place. The tomb of Bénézet became celebrated for pilgrimages and miracles. A conventual house and hospital were established, and the brotherhood instituted by his fame and works was sanctioned by Clement III in 1189. One of the famous establishments of this order was located on the banks of the Arno. Among the good services done was road-building and repairing. The order came to amass wealth, and at last fell into the usual vices and was secularized in 1519, having, however, executed many illustrious works.[17]

At Dauphiné about 1095 a gentleman named Gaston and his son, in thanksgiving for deliverance from the "sacred fire," or "St. Anthony's fire," a disease then prevalent, are said to have founded the congregation of Antonines,[18] or Hospital Brothers of St. Anthony. They erected a hospital near the church of St. Anthony at Saint-Didier de la Mothe, which became the center

[16] Article "Bridges," "New Edinburgh Encyclopœdia." The "Catholic Encycl.," article on "Bridge Building Brotherhoods," throws some doubt on the origin of this work, but none on the nature and achievements of the Association.

[17] "There were also gilds, those lay brotherhoods animated by the religious spirit, who repaired roads and bridges. The Gild of the Holy Cross in Birmingham, founded under Richard II, did this, and their intervention was most valuable." "English Wayfaring Life," Jusserand, p. 42. The entire chapter on "Roads and Bridges" is instructive.

[18] "History of the Church," Birkhaeuser, p. 496.

of the order. Especial care was given to sufferers from the above named malady. The brothers wore a black habit, the Greek letter Tau in blue decorating it in representation of St. Anthony's cross. At first the order was strictly of laymen, but it was afterward given monastic vows and the rule of St. Augustine, and it lasted until the French Revolution.

In the early part of the twelfth century arose another order occasioned by the presence of a dread disease. The Knights or Order of St. Lazarus, not to be confounded with the modern Lazarists,[19] had for their assumed task the cure of leprosy. "What is very remarkable," says Hélyot, "is that they could only elect as grand master a leprous Knight of the Hospital at Jerusalem."[20] This lasted until the infidels had killed all the leprous knights of the institution in the Holy City, when the pontiff was besought to allow the election of a superior in good health.[21] Michaud is inspired by the action of these brothers. "Thus the Knights," he says, "in order to be the better acquainted with human miseries, in a manner ennobled that which is most disgusting in the diseases of man. Did not this grand master of Lazarus, who obliged himself to be afflicted with the infirmities he was called upon to alleviate in others, imitate, as much as is possible on earth, the example of the Son of God, who assumed a human form in order to deliver humanity?"[22] This order became privileged and well endowed. Its sign was a green cross, and its lazarettos doubtless accomplished great good, although we have no knowledge as to the remedial

[19] See p. 152 et seq.

[20] "Histoire des ordres monastiques," Le Père Hélyot, I, p. 268. Moeller, however, says that it is not proved that the grand master at Jerusalem had to be a leper, but he says that this was true in some places. "Catholic Encycl.," article, "Order of St. Lazarus."

[21] In 1565, in answering this request, Pius IV highly praised the Knights.

[22] "History of the Crusades," Joseph Francois Michaud, Vol. III, p. 299.

treatment which leprous patients received. After the fall of Acre the order became purely military and was soon suppressed as being no longer useful, and parasitic.

The Italian Order of the Holy Cross, established in Italy in 1150, was devoted to the care of the sick. About the middle of the twelfth century Guy of Montpellier opened in that city a hospital in honor of the Holy Ghost, prescribing for the brothers the rule of St. Augustine. This institute spread rapidly in France, and throughout Christendom generally, until the Brothers of the Holy Spirit controlled more than nine hundred houses. In the beginning all were laymen, save for four clerics for spiritual duties. An outburst of generosity enriched the Order of the Holy Ghost, and military commanderies were formed, the "Militia of the Holy Ghost," as they called themselves, causing much strife in the order, until at last, in 1700, it was pronounced purely regular and non-military.

The redemption of the multitudes of captives taken in war by the Moslems was the object which led to the formation of several orders which were as successful as they were merciful. The Trinitarians, or Brethren of the Holy Trinity, were founded in 1198 by St. John of Matha and Felix of Valois. They adopted the rule of St. Augustine and spread throughout Europe.[28] They brought much joy to unfortunates who were not merely in physical slavery to the Mohammedans, but whose very faith was in danger. It is said that more than thirty thousand Christian captives were rescued by this active body, whose work was supplemented also by that of the Order of Our Lady of Mercy, established by Peter Nolasco in 1218 and usually styled "The Or-

[28] The Crutched or Crossed Friars are regarded by some as a branch of the Trinitarians. The Discalced Trinitarians were a reformed order founded by Juan Baptista, and suppressed with the other houses of the order by Isabella II.

der of Mercy." The King of Aragon patronized this society, whose members are sometimes called Maturins from their home in Paris near the chapel of St. Maturin. The number of captives rescued between the years 1492 and 1691 by this one order was over seventeen thousand.[24] The name of St. Magdalene, usually associated with societies for the redemption of fallen women, was applied to an order instituted in 1270 by St. Louis of France, and which was devoted to the suppression of duels.

Another interesting brotherhood of the thirteenth century was that of the Knights of Faith and Charity.[25] The public roads of France being infested with robbers, this order undertook to disperse these pests and to make safe the highways of the land. The Knights were patronized by that arch-enemy of heretics, Gregory IX, who however bestowed his favor so liberally upon the mendicant orders that from the fact of his support it does not follow that the Knights of Faith and Charity were specially devoted to ecclesiastical or doctrinal interests.

Somewhat earlier than the Franciscans arose the Italian Order of Crossbearers, Crociferi, or Crucigeri, distinguished for wearing a wooden or metal cross. The foundation was made in the neighborhood of Bologna, and the purpose was to tend the sick. Sabatier says: "This order deserves to be better known; it was founded under Alexander III and rapidly spread all over Central Italy and the East. In Francis' lifetime it had in Italy and the Holy Land about forty houses dedicated to the care of lepers."[26] Several later orders have also been called by this name.

The visitor in Florence can not fail to be impressed

[24] "History of the Church," Birkhaeuser, pp. 495-6.

[25] "Church History," Mosheim, Part II, chap. ii, xix.

[26] "Life of St. Francis of Assisi," Paul Sabatier, p. 108, nota 2. Also, Moeller, op. cit., p. 353.

by the black-gowned, hooded, and masked men who hurry through the streets of that historic city bearing a litter. No matter how often they appeared, I could never fail to turn and eye them out of sight, wondering what particular mission might be quickening their pace, and very much inclined, as did not a few, doubtless, in Savonarola's time on witnessing the same sight, to cry out, *"Miserere nobis, Domine."* These are the Brethren of the Misericordia, and they alone among Christian brotherhoods represent the conversion of a band of impious and dissolute laborers into a confraternity of religious philanthropists, whose good work has been continued for six centuries and more.[27] The story is most interesting. In the early part of the thirteenth century great annual fairs, held in October and November, required large numbers of porters to handle the woolen cloth of native manufacture which was offered for sale.[28] While looking for jobs these men congregated about the Piazza di San Giovanni, and bad weather found them in the cellar of a house owned by the Adimari family. Their spare time was spent in the usual employments of loafers; drinking, gambling, story-telling, and blaspheming being the principal activities. Into this company came in 1240 a youth[29] who had been brought up religiously, and who was shocked by what he saw and especially by the oaths to which he was obliged to listen. Piero di Luca Borsi might have followed the course of

[27] "These Brothers of Mercy in their mysterious black robes, hiding their faces, are familiar enough even to the most casual visitor to Florence; and their work of succor to the sick and injured has gone on interruptedly throughout the whole of Florentine history." "The Story of Florence," Edmund G. Gardner, p. 264.

[28] "The cloth that had been either manufactured or dressed and dyed in Florence had obtained a great reputation. At these fairs, which were attended by the richest merchants in Italy, an enormous business was done, and it has been estimated that goods to the value of from 15,000,000 to 16,000,000 florins were sold at each. The delivery of the cloth sold required the services of a large number of porters." "Florence, Her History and Art," Francis Adams Hyett, B. A., p. 20.

[29] See Staley, "The Guilds of Florence," p. 546. Trollope says that Piero was an elderly man, and the head of the whole gang. Ut infra.

many another lad; sinking to the level of his surroundings, he might have become a useless degenerate. On the contrary, he determined to rebuke the iniquities of his associates and, better still, to reform them. Not content with mere protests, as are too many good persons, he suggested methods of betterment. Waxing bold one day, he approached the leaders in evil and, expostulating with them for their conduct, he suggested that it would be a good idea for them to impose on themselves and on all the frequenters of the locality a small fine for every word of blasphemy which might be spoken. The proposition caught the fancy of the ringleaders of the gang, and they adopted this plan.[20] As the fines soon amounted to a considerable sum, Borsi proposed that the porters organize themselves into a humane society to expend their money on "six litters, one for each ward of the city, and to appoint every week two of their number to each litter for the purpose of carrying poor sick persons to the hospitals, or those who met with sudden accidents, or who died suddenly, or were killed in the streets."[21] This work was so well done that the fraternity grew and became popular. Not merely market porters, but the scions of wealthy guildsmen and of nobles gladly took the habit of the order and prosecuted its undertakings. During the Great Plague of 1348 thirty-five thousand florins were contributed to the work of the fraternity. About two years later a loggia was planned, the famous Bigallo of Andrea Orcagna with the iron grille of Francesco Petrucci. This was a center where brethren might rest between their acts of mercy, and where strayed or deserted children might find protection until cared for, this work carrying forward the Orfanotrofio del Bigallo founded a century

[20] The fine of a crazia, equal now to about two-thirds of a penny (English), was levied. See op. cit., "Florence," Hyett, p. 21, et nota 2.

[21] "History of the Commonwealth of Florence," T. Adolphus Trollope, Vol. I, p. 120.

earlier. The members who bore litters served in rotation, a bell hung in the loggia calling those who were at duty in the street to come and render their humanitarian service. Contribution-boxes for the work were placed in several parts of the city, and prayers were said daily in the oratory. In 1425 a union was effected with the "Compagnia del Bigallo," another charitable society on similar lines, but members of which did not wish to carry the sick.[32] In 1475 a body was found with no one to bury it. A passing market-porter carried it to the Palazzo Vecchio, to the Gonfaloniere di Giustizia, and the affair caused the Misericordia to separate from their allies, to whom in 1524 the Bigallo was surrendered, the present location of the Compagnia della Misericordia being the Piazza del Duomo.[33] Vaults under the cathedral, granted to the brothers for the burial of the unfortunate, still bear their sculptured arms.

Street frays in Florence no longer furnish hourly subjects of mercy to the Brotherhood of the Misericordia, and rough-handed laborers no more snatch a moment from their day's toil to act the part of Good Samaritan. The society now contains representatives of all classes, even the highest, and they respond to the bell not only to bear a litter, but often to act as nurses. "The dress," says Mrs. Oliphant, "is in reality no sign of mysterious shame and expiation, but merely a precaution against any trafficking on the part of the brethren in the gratitude of their patients, from whom

[32] This society arose from the heretical sect of the "Paterini," who after being routed and scattered by the Captains of Holy Mary, a society of young cavaliers who organized to suppress them, became hospitalers, and in their work of repairing old asylums and hospitals, were joined by many from the lesser guilds. They were ultimately given a chapel in Santa Maria Novella for their charities and devotions. "Guilds of Florence," Edgecumbe Staley, pp. 549, 550.

[33] "Istoria dell' Oratorio e della Venerabile Arciconfraternità della Misericordia, Scritta da Placido Landani." Also "Florence Gazette," March, 1898. Staley, ut supra, p. 545ff.

they are allowed to receive nothing more than a draught of water, the first and cheapest of necessities."[34]

A passing thought may be given here to The Black Company, "La Compagnia de' Neri." In mediæval times all criminals, the lesser as well as the greater, were most harshly treated, and no provision was made for their physical or spiritual wants, save as the tender mercies of the jailers might elect. In 1361 twelve young men, under the religious spur of the influence of the "Paterini," asked for a tract of waste land outside the city near the Piazza di Santa Croce, where criminals were executed. On this field they built a chapel where religious ministry might be given to those about to be executed, and under whose walls their bodies could be buried. The number of this society increased later to fifty, and there is still a confraternity at Santa Croce having similar purposes.[35]

The Jesuati, or Jesuates, date from the fourteenth century, being the result of a foundation made by John Colombini, a native of Siena. This man, who had several times been elected Gonfaloniero,[36] who was very successful in business and very worldly-minded, became fascinated with the lives of the saints, particularly by chancing to take up a biography of St. Mary of Egypt. His temper became changed from ambition and anger to humility and meekness. He reformed his business methods, selling cheaply and paying larger prices than were demanded. He made his house a refuge for the poor and needy, washing the feet of the suffering, ministering with his own hands to their wants and offering

[34] "Makers of Florence," Oliphant, p. 238. "The porter's original undertaking is carried out with a firm faithfulness at once to tradition and to Christian charity."

[35] Staley, op. cit., p. 514.

[36] Alzog says he resigned the highest office to minister to the poor, "Universal Church History," Pabisch and Byrne, Per. 2, Ep. 2, Pt. 2, chap. iv, §291. The same statement is made by Langton Douglas, "History of Siena," p. 164.

to them spiritual comfort. After a time, his wife having become converted to his views, Colombini provided for her a life annuity, and then gave the rest of his fortune to endow a hospital and two cloisters.[87] Afterward he lived in apostolic simplicity and poverty, continuing his services to sick and poor, and being joined by his old friend Francisco Mini, three of the Picolomini family, and by other patricians who likewise distributed their substance to the needy. A cry of alarm at such practices being raised, Colombini was banished from Siena, and his comrades "Poveri Gesuati," Knights of Jesus Christ, cheerfully followed him and made a tour of Tuscany, arousing much interest. Shortly after these men left Siena an epidemic broke out in that city, which was regarded by many as a divine rebuke upon those who had exiled Colombini, and they clamored for his recall. On his return the good man resumed his deeds of kindness and of self-denial, going so far as to render the most humble services in homes where he had once been lavishly entertained. The new congregation was sanctioned in 1379 by Pope Urban V. The members were called Jesuates by the people of Viterbo because they constantly were heard to exclaim, "Praise be to Jesus Christ." From their veneration of St. Jerome came the more formal title Clerici Apostolici s. Hieronymi. In 1606 priests were admitted to the society, but in spite of their influence, or because of it, abuses crept in, and the congregation was suppressed in 1668, having, however, in its three centuries, assuaged many griefs, and having brought no little joy to the plague-stricken and the distressed.

[87] "Straightway he divested himself of his wealth—chiefly like a good Sienese, in favor of the hospital of the Scala—espoused the Lady Poverty, and wandered through the streets and lanes, perpetually praising God. Some of the lauds which he and his followers sang have come down to us under the name of rime spirituali, and are if monotonous in matter, still tremulous with the joy of the convert." "Siena," Ferdinand Schevill, p. 256.

At the time of the so-called "black death"[38] at Mechlin in Brabant, a number of laymen joined themselves to a certain Tobias, who desired to minister to the sufferers. They took no vows or special rule. As one of their works of necessity was to bury those who died of the dread disease, they became known as Cellites, from the Latin *cella,* a cell, and so a grave. After some time they became enamored of Alexius, who had for many years labored in a hospital at Edessa, Syria. In devotion to this man, whom they regarded as a saint, they assumed the style of Alexian Brothers, and they spread rapidly in Germany and the low countries. Like some of the other orders named in this chapter, the Alexians visited not only the sick, but prisoners, and they attended criminals to execution. By some they are described as being descended from Wycliffe's Lullards, or Lollards, or as a branch of the Beghards. They were sometimes called Lollhorden, from the old German word to sing softly, which they did at funerals and elsewhere. If they were ever connected with the sects regarded as heretical, they were later recovered to allegiance to the Church. They were admitted among the religious orders by Sixtus IV in 1472, and Gregory XI defended them from their enemies. The Alexian Brothers have hospitals in the United States, homes for the aged and infirm in England, retreats for the insane in America, Germany, and Belgium, besides other modern establishments.[39]

John of God, a Portuguese youth born in 1495, and who ran away from home in his ninth year, thereby hastening, if not causing, the death of his mother, had many adventures as a shepherd, a soldier, and a servant

[38] The Black Death desolated both Asia and Europe during the 14th Century, carrying off 30,000,000 Europeans, and half of the 4,000,000 population of England were also swept away. "Historic Note-Book," Brewer.

[39] See "History of the Alexian Brothers," Chicago, and "Monastic and Religious Houses of Great Britain and Ireland," Steele.

to charity. Returning from Africa, he sold religious books and pictures at cost in the region about Gibraltar, where he is also said to have had a vision of the Infant Jesus, from whom he received the name by which he is now known, and who bade him go to Granada. At the latter place in his fortieth year John of Avila so preached as to lead him to give away all his worldly goods and to go through the streets of the city beating his breast and crying for mercy. At first regarded as a madman, he became an approved minister to the poor and sick, for whom he rented a house to which he bore on his own shoulders any who were unable to walk. For a time alone in his charities he began to receive aid. Two dissipated men who were sworn enemies of each other were converted by the influence of John, and they with him began, in 1540, a congregation which became numerous and over which one of the two converts, who humbly called himself Peter the Sinner, came to preside after the death of his master and by his appointment. John passed away in 1550, his last illness being caused by a futile attempt to rescue a young man from drowning. The new order, which was approved by Pius V in 1572 under the rule of Augustine, rendered service to widows and orphans, to the unemployed, to poor students, and to fallen women. All comers were cared for, Catholics and non-Catholics, "their constitution obliging them to make no distinction."[40] The Brothers Hospitalers of St. John of God increased in number and spread rapidly through Europe. A hospital given them in Rome became the center of government. During the French Revolution the brothers were expelled from forty hospitals where they were caring for over four thousand patients. The order is represented on the continent of Europe by about one hundred institutions, and it has a hospice at Nazareth, a home for insane men

[40] Alzog, Vol. III, p. 896.

in Ireland, and a retreat for male chronic invalids in Yorkshire. The members do not take holy orders, but receive priests as helpers. Some of them are graduates in medicine and other sciences. They seek sanctification and the welfare of their patients. To the three monastic vows they add that of serving for life the sick in their hospitals. At various times and places the order has borne differing titles: in Spain, Brothers of Hospitality; in France, Brethren of Christian Love; in Germany, Brethren of Mercy.[41]

Among the interesting societies which sprang up in the period through which our thought is passing was a congregation of men who were at once priests and physicians. They arose in Turkey and were called "Fathers of the Pestilence." The Fraternity of the Holy Trinity was the earlier work, 1548, of Philip Neri of the Oratory, a man of great devotion to the sick and poor, and who established this society and the finest hospice in Rome for the sake of needy sufferers and pilgrims.[42] The Bethlehemites, a third order of this name,[43] sprang from the labors of Pierre de Bétencourt, born in Teneriffe, Canary Islands, in 1619, an ascetic from youth, who failed in his Jesuitical studies and became a tailor, and later a sexton. In 1655 he sold his possessions for the benefit of the poor, entered the third Franciscan order, and founded a free school for indigent pupils. Soon he established a hospital and other schools, and about 1660 he began to receive associates in his work in these institutions at Gautemala. His new order was endorsed, and in 1687 was placed under the Augustinian rule. Its present work is primarily charitable.

[41] "The Age of the Reformation," M. Philippson, Ph. D., says, "The Brethren of Mercy, by their modest virtues and by the unwearying services rendered by them to the suffering and the forsaken, have done more for the upholding of Catholicism than a hundred bishops or doctors of theology." "Hist. All Nations," Vol. XI, p. 238.

[42] Reiching, "Leben des heiligen Philippo de' Neri."

[43] Supra, p. 71.

While the number which have been specifically considered in these pages comprises not more than a representative proportion of the charitable brotherhoods which arose and flourished from early mediæval to Reformation times, no doubt the greatest orders and those most typical have been named. A full study of these societies would go far towards proving the claim of Professor J. A. Ryan that "in the Ages of Faith the Church was able to create an institution for every social need."[44] As to the value of such relief, it must be confessed that there has been wide difference of opinion,[45] but when one takes into consideration the supplementary influence of the Church upon social and political conditions, much credit must certainly be given to organized Christianity. That usury was condemned, that such institutions as the Franciscan Montes Pietatis were established for the protection of borrowers, that the misuse of secular power was denounced and resisted, and that great houses of shelter for the sick and poor were erected, certainly meant much during chaotic centuries; and as to almsgiving, whatever one may think of systems and general principles, the offering to the needy of even a cup of cold water in the name of the Lord, if the act be sincere and self-denying, is Christian and beautiful. Each deed

[44] "Catholic Encycl.," article "Charity."

[45] C. A. Ellwood, Ph. D., in "Henderson's Modern Methods of Charity," p. 167, is most sweeping: "The charity of the Church was wholly indiscriminating and, therefore, evil in its consequences." Lecky, "Hist. European Morals," Vol. II, p. 99, who is quoted in the "Catholic Dictionary," article "Charity," as saying that "in the sphere of simple poverty it can hardly be doubted that the Catholic Church has created more misery than it has cured," really strongly commends the earlier charity of the Church, saying that it was "at first a very great, though even then not an unmixed good." "A form of selfish charity," he says, "arose, which acquired at last gigantic proportions, and exercised a most pernicious influence upon Christendom. Men gave money to the poor simply and exclusively for their own spiritual benefit." If this has been done, if penance and personal profit therefrom have replaced the love of humanity, then evil has been wrought, if not to the recipient, certainly to the donor of charity. No doubt, also, all unnecessary alms pauperizes the object of giving. But with all these strictures there remains a considerable balance on the side of the Church, but especially to the credit of the brotherhoods in their better days.

inspired by affection and culminating in self-denial is also too evidently profitable not to be virtuous.

"It is in loving, not in being loved, the heart is blest;
It is in giving, not in seeking gifts, we find our quest."

I will close this chapter with a reference to an order which grew out of the spirit of practical helpfulness exhibited by a devout soul of the period just covered. The Confraternity of St. Ives, established to give legal advice to those not able to provide for themselves, recalls the name of one St. Evona, or Ives (Yves), of Brittany, born at Kermartin, 1253, and who died at Louannec in 1303. He was son of Helori, Lord of Kermartin, and was educated for the law at Paris. He became a judge ecclesiastical at Rennes, and, having studied well the Scriptures, he devoted his life to the service of the poor, becoming renowned for his good deeds[46] and reflecting such honor upon both the legal and Christian professions that he was held as patron by the one and was canonized by the other.[47]

A very amusing account of the way in which this interesting character became the Lawyer's Patron Saint is found in "Curiosities of Law and Lawyers."[48] "St. Evona, or Ives, of Brittany was lamenting that his profession had not a patron saint to look up to. The physicians had St. Luke, the champions had St. George, the artists each had one; but the lawyers had none. Thinking that the pope ought to bestow a saint, he went to Rome and requested his holiness to give the lawyers of Brittany a patron. The pope, rather puzzled, proposed to St. Evona that he should go round the Church

[46] "Le devouement avec lequel il plaidait les causes des veuves et des malheureux lui merita le surnom honorable d'Avocat des pauvres." "Dictionnaire Universel," P. Larousse.

[47] "Two members of that order (the noblesse de la robe) attained each a rare distinction: the one, Ives de Kaermartin, who lived in the reign of Philip the Fair, being canonized as a saint." "The History of Lawyers," Wm. Forsyth, p. 190.

[48] By Croake (!), James, pp. 1 and 2.

of St. John de Lateran blindfolded, and after he had said so many Ave Marias the first saint he laid hold of should be his patron; and this solution of the difficulty the good old lawyer willingly undertook. When he had finished his Ave Marias he stopped short and laid his hands on the first image he came to, and cried out with joy, 'This is our saint; this be our patron.' But when the bandage was taken from his eyes, what was his astonishment to find that, though he had stopped at St. Michael's altar, he had all the while laid hold not of St. Michael, but of the figure under St. Michael's feet—the devil!

"This St. Evona of Brittany, it is said in Carr's account of the Netherlands, 1684, was so dejected at the choice of a patron saint that in a few months he died, and, coming to heaven's gates, knocked hard. Whereupon St. Peter asked who it was that knocked so boldly. He replied that it was St. Evona the advocate. 'Away, away!' said St. Peter; 'here is but one advocate in heaven; here is no room for you lawyers.' 'Oh, but,' said St. Evona, 'I am that honest lawyer who never took fees on both sides, nor pleaded in a bad cause; nor did I ever set my neighbors together by the ears, nor lived by the sins of the people.' 'Well, then,' said St. Peter, 'come in!' He became the patron saint himself."

But it has been said with reference to St. Ives, "He is the patron of lawyers, though not, it is said, their model, for *'Sanctus Ivo erat Brito, Advocatus et non latro, Res miranda populo.'* "

X

AUSTERE AND MISSIONARY ORDERS

PIOUS AND PREACHING BROTHERHOODS

THE counter-reformation produced modified or new types of monastic and lay brotherhoods, as outlined in this and in the succeeding chapter. In general three tendencies appear, the revival of austerity, the organization of propagandist societies, and the rise and development of educational orders. The cause of this movement is easily explicable on the basis of the new ecclesiastical division, with its competitions in doctrine and in practical interests, the whole situation being complicated by social and political conditions.[1]

Asceticism has always been associated with religion, and especially with monastic institutions, perfectionist aspirations and endeavors underlying its intellectual struggles and its physical mortifications. From the beginning of the study of Christian brotherhoods it has appeared that one of the great ends of these societies as a whole, but particularly of those whose aims were chiefly religious, was the attainment of a strict rule of

[1] Mosheim says that the Reformation, among other changes, even in the Roman Church, "gave rise to various communities, which were all comprehended under the general denomination of Regular Clerks (Clerics); and as all these communities were, according to their own solemn declarations, formed with a design of imitating that sanctity of manners, and reviving that spirit of piety and virtue which had distinguished the sacred order in the primitive times, this was a plain though tacit confession of the present corruption of the clergy, and consequently of the indispensable necessity of the Reformation." "Ecclesiastical History," Section III, part 1, xvii. S. Cheetham, "A History of the Christian Church Since the Reformation," p. 93, says, "In nothing did the Church of Rome display better the fresh life which she had derived from the Reformation than in the new orders which she brought forth during the seventeenth century."

moral thought and life. Each of the great orders has established its discipline for the attainment of high and meritorious character, and the reform movements which have been traced were inaugurated either to improve the rule or to correct its relaxations. Besides the mediæval foundations primarily devoted to piety which have already been named, attention may be called to a number of those which were smaller, more intense, or radical.

St. Romuald[2] in 1012 established at Campo Maldoli, thirty miles east of Florence, the Camaldoli, Ordo Camaldulanus, a modification of the Benedictine rule, and not always classed separately. Romuald was the son of a nobleman of Ravenna, and after a vain and frivolous youth he was deeply impressed by the horror of a duel which he was compelled to witness and in which his father, Sergius, killed a neighbor. To atone for his unwilling share in this event young Romuald retired from the world to live a life of austerity. For a time he was under the tuition of the famous hermit Peter Urseoli. His religious development was rapid and intense, and he became influential in convicting men of their sins.[3] The reigning Doge of Venice was by his rebukes brought to repentance for his crimes, and later the Emperor Otho was induced to make a barefoot pilgrimage from Rome to Gorganus to atone for his murder of Crescentius. His own father, Sergius, who had entered a monastery, finding the quiet regular life little to his taste, was minded to return to the pleasures of the world, but the arguments of Romuald prevailed upon him to remain in the institution till death. The members of Camaldoli wore a white habit, were obliged

[2] A biographer is Peter Damien, "Life of Romuald."

[3] "So irresistible was his speech, and so subduing his glance, that the most abandoned and obstinate of them, when appealed to by him, at once entered upon a change of life, and the most tepid grew active and energetic." Alzog, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 364.

to observe two Lenten fasts each year, at other times to abstain from meat, and to live at least three days each week on bread and water. Corruption did not, however, pass by this severe order, and in its later history it was several times reformed. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries there were some two thousand members, but few now remain. The Order of Vallombrosa (shady valley), founded about 1038 by San Giovanni Gualberto, was also a Benedictine institution which was strictly contemplative and which admitted lay brethren. Milton, in his well-known passage, speaks of angel forms who

> "lay entranced
> Thick as autumnal leaves that strew the brooks
> In Vallombrosa, where the Etrurian shades
> High over-arch'd imbow'r." [4]

Several orders of Boni Homines[5] have existed, the oldest of the Good Men being probably the Order of Grandmont, founded in the mountains of Muret, near Limoges, France, Martène says, in 1100, by Stephen of Thiers. This ascetic wore a penitent's shirt of steel and slept in a coffin. He was followed by many disciples, over whom he would not rule as prior or abbot, but assumed only the title corrector. "When you are asked to what order you belong," said St. Stephen to his disciples, "answer, 'to Christianity, which is the mother and model of all the other orders.'" The humility of this man is indicated in his reply to some cardinals who asked him whether he considered himself a canon, a monk, or a hermit. "I am none of these," he said; and being questioned further concerning the status of himself and of his fellows, he said: "We are poor sinners whom God has mercifully called to the

[4] "Paradise Lost," Book I, 301-304.

[5] Grandmont, the Minims in France, the Portuguese Canons of Vicenza in the fifteenth century, and an English order in London about 1300.

wilderness to do penance; and the pope, in compliance with our request, has himself appointed the duties we fulfill here. We are too imperfect and too weak to emulate the example of the saint hermits who were so absorbed in their divine contemplations as to make them forget the natural wants of the body. You see besides, that we do not wear the habit either of canons or of monks; and we do not desire to be called either, as we are far from having the merits of the one or the sanctity of the others." The name Boni Homines is a standing evidence of the fact that St. Stephen's speech was too modest to be true, for the people held his followers in higher respect than that accorded the regular monastics, and they gave them this title. The later history of Grandmont seems to show that too much obedience characterized its members, for they permitted the pope to relax their rules; contentions arose, and the order, which was confined to France, was extinguished by the Revolution.[6]

Fontévraud, the foundation of Robert of Arbrissel, about the year 1100, too closely associated its members, and though Robert was zealously active in reforming the clergy and in the preaching of penance and the crusade, he became involved in a scandal with reference to his relations with women. Nevertheless the order later attained much prosperity in France as an institution of discipline.[7] The Humiliati, or the Humbled, an order at first composed of laymen, was instituted about 1134 by some Italian noblemen whom Henry II had sent to Germany as exiles. On the return of these Milanese to their native city they continued the form of religious exercises which they had perforce employed abroad, and, strengthening themselves by accessions

[6] The statutes of the order are in Martène, De antiq. eccl. rit. Alzog, op. cit. Vol. II, p. 689, attributes the failure to the conflict between monks and lay-brothers, due to excessive wealth.

[7] Moeller, op. cit., pp. 350 and 351.

from the mechanic classes engaged in the manufacture of woolen fabrics, they formed groups throughout Lombardy. Each member worked for the society, which in turn provided for all. Manual labor was required, and combined industry and integrity gained for these brothers a good name and sometimes high honor and office. About 1151 the members became Benedictine canons, and they received the approval of the Church in 1200. In later times political intrigue and temporal sordidness polluted the order, and when St. Charles Borromeo sought to reform them his murder was attempted. In 1571 the Humiliati were suppressed.[8] The Confraternity of Notre Dame, whose object was the perfection of the spiritual life, was founded at Paris, 1168. Thirty-six priests and thirty-six laymen, representing the number of Christ's disciples, constituted the institution.

Diverse origins are attributed to the Brethren of the Sack, whose real name is said to have been Friars or Brethren of Penance, and who were represented in France, in Spain, in Germany, in England during the reign of Henry III, and in Italy. They have been considered as being associated with the Boni Homines or Perfecti, or with the Brethren of the Free Spirit. Their name was derived from the sacks which they wore as garments. Their austerity and abstinence were extreme, and their views were those of radicals, leading to extermination after a comparatively brief period. The Crutched or Crossed Friars were a congregation of Canons regularly founded in 1211 by Theodore de Celles at Huy, near Liège, and who followed the rule of Augustine as modified by Dominican influences. The Crosier

[8] See Hurter, Vol. IV.

[9] Gasquet, "English Monastic Life," pp. 241 and 242, says that in spite of the suppression by Gregory X of all begging friars except the four great mendicant orders, the Fratres de Sacco remained in existence in England until the destruction of all the orders in the sixteenth century.

Fathers to this day are engaged in a life both contemplative and active. They give missions, conduct retreats, assist the secular clergy, if desired to do so, and educate young men for the priesthood. The chief profession is interior and exterior self-denial, in order to imitate the crucified Savior. While once numerous in England, they are now reduced, the principal houses being in Holland and Belgium. The same name is often applied to an earlier Order of the Holy Cross, mentioned in the previous chapter.[10] The Cæsarians were not a separate order, but were followers of a Franciscan, Cæsar of Spires, a German friar who about the middle of the thirteenth century, opposed the attempted relaxation of the rules of St. Francis.

To a decree of the Council of Lyons in 1274 is attributed the origin of the Holy Name Society, the preaching of devotion to the Holy Name of Jesus being entrusted to the Dominicans. Peter Martyr, Ambrose of Siena, and Henry Suso were distinguished apostles of this devotion. Didacus of Victoria, who died in 1450, formed a confraternity known as the Society of the Holy Name of God, for the suppression of "the horrible profanation of the Divine Name by blasphemers, perjurers, and by men in their ordinary conversation." Later this confraternity was merged into the Society of the Holy Name of Jesus, called also Confraternity against Oaths. The society received a great impetus in the United States in the nineteenth century, where its members protested against profanity by their yearly processions, by quarterly communions, and by the publication of the monthly *Holy Name Journal*.[11]

The Celestinians were founded by the good Peter

[10] Gasquet, op. cit., p. 246. For account of Crossed Friars, see Hermans "Annales Can. Reg. S. Aug. Ordinis Sanctae Crucis." Also the work of Russel.

[11] See "Pocket Manual of the Holy Name Society" and "Annual Reports of Archdiocesan Union," Holy Name Society of New York.

of Morone before his elevation to the papacy as Celestine V, in 1294.[12] Their rule was Benedictine, and required them to eat no flesh except in case of sickness, to fast much, and to rise two hours after midnight to say matins. They were devoted entirely to contemplation, and the order, which at one time had two hundred monasteries, though much decayed, has some modern survivors. A strict branch of Franciscans, the Celestinian Hermits, are not to be confounded with their Benedictine namesakes. The Hermits were often called Fratricelli, or little brothers, as were various sects of the Middle Ages. From Celestine V they obtained permission to live in solitude and to observe the utmost rigor of the Franciscan rule. The more ascetic and radical monks gathered to their standard. They were opposed by the regular Franciscans and soon became subject to the Inquisition, which executed most barbarously the commission against them issued by John XXII. Later they adopted the views of Oliva, holding the Roman Church to be Babylon, and that the rule of St. Francis was observed by Jesus and the apostles. They prophesied the reformation of the Church and the restoration of the true gospel of Christ. They declared that a new gospel was also to come. It is said that from 1318 to the time of Innocent VI over two thousand persons were burnt by the Inquisition, but the Celestinians survived to the fifteenth century.

The Brigittines, or Order of the Savior, 1346, were founded by St. Bridget, the daughter of a Swedish prince, and their devotion has to the present time been given to the passion of the Lord. The houses were originally for both men and women.[13] They were sup-

[12] This pious man, who was forced to be made pope, proved to be no politician, and he was compelled to abdicate by Boniface, who succeeded him, and who imprisoned and persecuted him until his death. See "Catholic Encyclopedia," in loco.

[13] "Catholic Encyclopedia" in loco says, "At the Reformation most of the double monasteries had to be given up."

pressed in England by Henry VIII, and in Sweden by Gustavus Vasa. Several orders of Hieronymites, Jeronymites, followers of St. Jerome, carried the ascetic idea through the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, but these hermits have no successors.[14] The White Brethren, organized in the Alps about 1399 by an unknown enthusiast, said to have been from Scotland, were called penitents by their leader, but were named by others Fratres Albati, because of their white dresses. The leader of the White Penitents, as they were also sometimes termed, was suspected of false designs, and, being arrested at the instigation of Boniface IX, was burnt, and his followers soon dispersed.[15]

The influence of Wyckliffe flowed through the Hussite movement of Bohemia and eventuated in the foundation of the religiously purified community or sect known as the Unitas Fratrum, the Bohemian or Moravian Brethren. After Tabor was destroyed by Podiebrad in 1453, the scattered Taborites combined, and, taking the Gospel as their sole norm, they instituted the Brothers of the Law of Christ, who adopted the idea of community of goods, declared that the rich man should administer his goods for his brethren, and that each brother should will his property according to the law of God. The brethren were closely related to the Waldensians and to other pre-Reformation Protestants, and they suffered much persecution from ecclesiastical and civil authorities. In their better days they were a powerful force for righteousness. The modern Moravians, whose missionary zeal is a fragrance in the Church, are their legitimate successors and heirs.[16]

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[14] See page 165.

[15] Mosheim, "Eccl. Hist.," p. 378.

[16] Moeller, op. cit., pp. 548-550. "Brethren were witnesses of the death of Savonarola. Writings of Bohemian origin were translated into the Roman dialect of the Waldensians. Discussions were held on the grounds of Separation from the Roman Church."

Repentance, humility, poverty, fasting, praying, and silence were the principles espoused by the Minims, Minimos Fratres, established by Francis de Paula of Calabria in 1453. Hermits of St. Francis was the name first chosen, and this is one of the orders whose members were called les bons hommes (Boni Homines) for their good life. In Spain, Ferdinand called them Fathers of Victory, since he believed that it was by reason of their prayers that Malaga was captured from the Moors. In reduced strength the Minims have survived to the present time.

An Austrian Order of St. Christopher, dating from 1517, may here be named, and it is of special interest as a society formed to check intemperance and profanity. More definite details as to its work and its successes might be valuable. The Theatins were a very austere order established in 1524 by Cajetan (Gaetan of Thiene), who examined Luther at Augsburg, and who was assisted in forming his order by three friends. The members bound themselves to hold no property, and to look to Providence only for support, with no asking of alms. They sought to reform the clergy and to combat heresy, and are now represented mainly in Italy. The leading spirit of this society, the Oratory of Divine Love, came to be Caraffa, Bishop of Chieti, who joined himself to Cajetan with enthusiasm, published pamphlets against the Lutherans, and against the worldly influence of Clement VII sought to purify the lives of the priests. He made the society an aristocratic training-school for men of high family who should become bishops and dignitaries. New members were admitted very carefully, and the influence gained by the order was strong.[17] Caraffa became Pope Paul IV. He revived the Italian Inquisition and was the first to publish a general "Index Librorum Prohibitorum." The

[17] Philippson, op. cit., "Hist. All Nations," Vol. XI, pp. 239 and 240.

Barnabites, founded in 1532 by Zaccharia of Cremona and two noblemen of Milan, began with principles like those of the Theatins, but soon departed from their strictness. It was also their office to convert sinners and to bring transgressors to repentance and obedience. During the nineteenth century several famous converts of noble Russian families were made by this order, which is represented at this time in several countries.[18]

No Catholic society of the post-Reformation period has been as aggressive, or has had a history as strenuous as that of the Society or, more properly, Company of Jesus, commonly called the Jesuits. It is frequently stated that this organization, which has numbered in its membership many of the most astute statesmen and literateurs of the Roman party, was called into being for the purpose of seeking to repair the damages wrought to the old Church by Luther. This, however, is denied by Catholic historians, who state that when Ignatius of Loyola instituted his society, in 1534, he had little or no knowledge of the great reformer.[19]

The founder of the Jesuits was a Spanish nobleman, Don Inigo, or Ignatius, trained at the court of Ferdinand.[20] Early in life he was impelled by thirst for glory to enter the army. At the Siege of Pamplona by the French in 1521 he was wounded, and during a protracted recovery he turned from the reading of knightly romances to the lives of Jesus Christ and the saints. His imagination was fired with thoughts of a career greater than that of any military leader, and, resolving to give his life to the Church, he went to the

[18] Ibid, p. 240, "The Barnabites worked especially for the conversion of heretics, thousands of whom they brought back into the Church in Italy, France, and Bohemia."

[19] See, however, the next chapter, p. 166.

[20] "Ignatius Loyola and the Early Jesuits," Stewart Rose, p. 8. This author says, "According to the usages of the time, he devoted himself to the service of a noble lady, whose name in after days never passed his lips."

Benedictine Abbey of Montserrat, confessed his sins, hung upon the altar his sword and dagger, and took the vow of chastity. Going to Manresa, he hid within a rocky cavern near the town, where he is thought to have composed the first draft of "Exercitia Spiritualia," Spiritual Exercises, to which the soldier-like nature of the Jesuit Order is so largely due. Ignatius next made a pilgrimage to Palestine, and returning with the thought of his new order in his brain, together with a realization of his deficiencies, he entered at thirty-three a grammar school at Barcelona, where he became as a child among other children,[21] and then went to the universities at Alcala, Salamanca, and lastly to Paris, at which place he remained from 1528 to 1535, receiving the degree of doctor of philosophy.

It was in Paris that Ignatius gathered about him the first companions of his order. On August 15th of the year last named, in the chapel of Montmartre, Paris, Ignatius with six comrades, including Francis Xavier, Boabdilla, and the Portuguese Rodriguez, took vows to go to the Holy Land and to seek the conversion of the infidels. War with the Turks prevented this step, and the brothers devoted themselves to labors in and about Venice. In 1538 they proposed formal organization, and the next year they secured papal sanction.

The motto of the new order was Ad Majorem Dei Gloriam, and in addition to the three usual monastic vows the members promised to go as missionaries whenever the pope should send them. Ignatius became general, and the root idea of his followers was to become a band of soldiers for the Church. For about ten years, until 1550, Ignatius labored on the rules of the order,

[21] Father Daniel Bartoli, in his "History of the Life and Institute of St. Ignatius De Loyola," p. 114, relates the impression which the deep piety of the man made on the mind of one John Paschal, the young son of his hostess. In later years Paschal would say to his children that if they had known 'that guest so holy and gentle, they would kiss the traces of his footsteps.' "

which were then proposed to the members for modifications. The revised text was then sent to all the fathers, even in India, and suggestions were asked. The third text, thus produced, has never received important changes, and is now in force.

The formation, as it is called, of each member of the Society of Jesus takes eighteen years. Two years of spiritual exercises, prayer, meditation, and reading are followed by the three vows and by two years of the humanities and of the modern languages. Then come three years of science and philosophy, after which five years are spent in teaching in a Jesuit college, in the specialty indicated by previous studies. Next come three years of theological study and holy orders; then a year more of theology, followed by opportunity for mission work and similar occupations for a year. Finally, before the last solemn vow of obedience to the pope, which concludes the preparation of a professed father, is a year of the study of spiritual things and of the constitution and rules of the society itself. It is not difficult to understand that this severe process eliminates many aspirants, and that the professed of the order are relatively few.

As the establishment of the Company of Jesus coincided with the Reformation, the strength of the order was first devoted to contesting with that movement. Macaulay gives the Jesuits credit for considerable successes in Germany, and for much influence even in England.[22] The zeal, fidelity, and spirit of willing martyrdom of members of this society are generally con-

[22] "History of England," Thomas Babington Macaulay, p. 582. Macaulay, however, says: "Whatever praises those fathers might justly claim, flattery itself could not ascribe to them either wide liberality or strict veracity. That they had never scrupled, when the interest of their order was at stake, to call in the aid of the civil sword, or to violate the laws of truth and of good faith, had been proclaimed to the world not only by Protestant accusers, but by men whose virtue and genius were the glory of the Church of Rome."

ceded. They have often been accused of cunning and of duplicity in ecclesiastical and political intrigue, and sometimes, as in case of the Parliament Gunpowder Plot in England, of treason. The best of their work has been in missionary and educational enterprises. St. Francis Xavier, the "Apostle of the Indies," and of Japan, is in the view of many the most admirable character associated with Jesuit undertakings. Xavier was sent to India in 1541 as apostolic missionary and nuncio, and he made his headquarters at Goa. It is said that after six years he had founded many churches and had made over two hundred thousand converts from paganism to Christianity. Francis Xavier, says Dr. Pierson, "misguided as he was, flamed with the consuming passion for souls. He washed the sores and cleansed the clothes of a crew sick with scurvy; rang a bell in the streets of Goa to call pupils to his school; and after a fearful vision of perils and privations before him as the price of winning isles and empires to Christ, he could only cry, 'Yet more, O my God, yet more!' No marvel if during ten years he visited fifty kingdoms, preached over nine thousand miles of territory, and baptized a million persons."[28]

Another brilliant passage in the history of this organization is that connected with early American exploration. As missionaries to the Indians many Jesuits proved themselves courageous spirits, and not a few paid the penalty with their lives; Jogues, who was slain on the banks of the Mohawk in 1646, De Brébeuf and Lallemant, who were burned at the stake and their hearts cut out and eaten by the Lake Superior Indians, being of the number. Le Moyne, Marquette, Serra are names typical of Jesuit missionaries whose explorations produced valuable knowledge of an historical and scien-

[28] "Evangelistic Work in Principle and Practice," Arthur T. Pierson, D. D., p. 159. See "The Life and Letters of St. Francis Xavier," Coleridge.

tific nature. Beside the Mohawk and the Mississippi, and by the grave of Marquette near the Straits of Mackinac I have felt the restless spirit, and have admired the dauntless daring of these intrepid men.[24] "The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents" is a series of seventy-two volumes of travels and observations which constitute invaluable sources for the historian of America. The Jesuits were early missionaries in South America also, but were expelled by Charles III. They erected many of the great churches of Europe, and not a few hospitals. In education and in literature they have been very active, and they have had the warmest friends and the bitterest enemies, having a remarkable record for expulsions and re-establishments in various countries.[25] They have often been bitterly opposed from within the Roman Church, and they have sometimes been most warmly praised by Protestants. Among the chief seats of Jesuit learning in America are the institutions at Woodstock, Md.; St. Louis, Mo.; Detroit, Mich., and Montreal, P. Q.

The sixteenth century witnessed the institution of oratories,[26] the chief name connected therewith being St. Philip Neri, who was a native of Florence, conspicuous for the purity of his life and for his purpose to

[24] The voyages and explorations of the members of the Society of Jesus have been made famous by Francis Parkman, "Jesuits in North America," and by others.

[25] W. M. Blackburn, "History of the Christian Church," p. 485, says: "Expelled from one land, they appeared in another and regained the lost ground; suppressed by popes, they still remained irrepressible. The Jesuits were expelled from France in 1594, but readmitted in 1604; again repressed, 1764; from England, 1579, 1581, 1602; from Venice, 1607; Holland, 1708; Portugal, 1759; Spain, 1767; the order abolished by Clement XIV, 1773, but restored by Pius VI, 1814; expelled from Belgium, 1818; Russia, 1820; Austria, Sardinia, and other States, 1848; Italy and Sicily, 1860; suppressed in Germany, 1872; when under ban they have sometimes taken such names as 'The Society of the Sacred Heart,' or 'Fathers of the Faith of Jesus,' or 'Baccanari.' "

[26] Vide Supra, p. 132, so called from the "Oratory" or cabinet for devotion, which St. Philip Neri built for himself at Florence and where he held spiritual counsel with his associates. "Eccl. Hist.," Mosheim, Sec. III, Part 1, xviii.

do good to young men. In 1548 he gathered about him a group of sympathetic spirits, and as a layman he preached to them on having zeal for God without retiring from the world. Later he took orders, but always maintained popular services with simple devotions, hymns, and a plain conversational sermon. His followers took no irrevocable vows. The work became famous and drew many recruits. After three centuries in Italy, in 1847 Dr. Newman introduced it into England, and Frederick Faber aided in promoting its interests. Other congregations have also taken the name "Oratory," especially that of Cardinal de Berull of Paris, who in 1611 organized "The Congregation of the Oratory of Our Lord Jesus Christ in France." To this society are attached not a few famous names, Richard Simon, Massillon, and Malebranche being of the number.

It would be a hopeless task to consider in these pages the vast number of relatively less important orders and associations which arose out of professed apprehension of heretics or out of pure love for God and the Church during the times which are under consideration and during those which succeeded them.[27] Most of these must be ignored, and but a little space can profitably be given to those which are most interesting.

Two strict branches of Franciscans were originated at the end of the sixteenth century: Picpus, established by Vincent Mussart, 1594; and the Recollects, 1597, who were of the observant wing of their order and never relaxed their rule. The Oblates, instituted in 1578, when Charles Borromeo, Archbishop of Milan, organized a band of zealous secular priests called the congregation of "Oblates of the Blessed Virgin of Saint Ambrose," gave rise to several similar congregations.

[27] "All these orders, differing from the more ancient, and having the same principle of active work among the people which characterized the Jesuits, were powerful agents in the Roman Catholic reaction." "History of the Christian Church," John Fletcher Hurst, Vol. II, p. 549.

It would be unjust to pass the name of Borromeo without mention of the personal heroism and the many Christian works of so remarkable a character.[28] Born in Avona, Italy, 1538, and living until 1584, Borromeo studied law at Pavia, but later turned his attention to the Church, and in 1560 was appointed by Pius IV, his uncle, to the positions of apostolic prothonotary, referendary, cardinal, and Archbishop of Milan. Becoming legate over Romagna and other places, Borromeo was powerful in civil government, and he held spiritual protectorships over several countries and over great fraternal orders, including the Franciscans and the Knights of Malta. But it is as a man and as a heroic Christian laborer in lowly fields that Borromeo will be longest remembered. When in 1576 the plague broke out in virulent and awful forms in the city of Milan, the archbishop, who at the time was staying in Lodi, at once volunteered to go to the seat of infection. His clergy advised him to remain where he was. "No," was the answer, "a bishop whose duty it is to give his life for the flock can not abandon them in their time of peril." So Borromeo went to Milan, and for the four months of the prevalence of disease and death he went about visiting the victims in their homes, in the hospitals, and everywhere, and he did not return to his episcopal duties until the last case of sickness was concluded.

This man was also one of the originators of Sunday schools for the education of the poor. Conditions in Milan being deplorable, the cathedral was opened, even on the Lord's day, to teach poor children, who had no other chance to get instruction, to read and to write. "Three hundred years have passed," says a modern writer, "and Cardinal Borromeo's Sunday school is

[28] Yet Hurst, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 584, says, "He brought about reforms in the convents and among the priests, but by his Jesuitical principles he was able to work the destruction of evangelism in his spiritual realm."

still continued."[29] The revenue of Borromeo's offices and property were spent in building schools and colleges, and in works of philanthropy. Reforms were instituted among the clergy and in the monastic orders, especially the Umiliati, who strongly opposed being corrected and joined forces with opponents and persecutors of one of the most able and praiseworthy of ecclesiastical leaders.[30] The name of the order which Borromeo instituted, the "Oblates," implies that the members "offer themselves" to perform any duty which may be assigned them by a bishop. The Oblates of Italy were organized in 1816 to control the missions of the Roman Church in Burma. The Eudists are another society of secular priests instituted to train the clergy and to conduct "missions," in the Catholic meaning of the term. They were founded by Jean Eudes, about 1643.[31]

The Lazarists, the Calvarines, and the Order of St. Joseph were all established in the early part of the seventeenth century as congregations of mission priests. Vincent de Paul, one of the great names in the history of true charity,[32] founded the first named in 1624,[33] when he was tutor and chaplain in the house of the Count Gondi. The name of the Lazarists comes from the College of Saint Lazarus in Paris, which became their seat in 1632. The direct purpose of the institu-

[29] Samuel Smiles, LL. D., "Duty," p. 211.

[30] The best life of St. Charles is that by Godeau. See also that by E. H. Thompson, and the chapter "Carlo Borromeo," in "Men of Might," Benson and Tatham, p. 91 ff.

[31] The "Encyclopedia Americana" gives the date of foundation as 1601, a manifest error, since that is the date of birth of the founder.

[32] S. Cheetham, D. D., op. cit., p. 95: "Among those who have carried on the work of Christ among the poor and needy there is perhaps no greater than Vincent de Paul. He himself in poverty and slavery learned to feel for the wretchedness of others and devoted his life to alleviate it."

[33] Bougaud, "History of St. Vincent de Paul," p. 203: "The ladies' rules are dated 1617, those for men, 1620. Was that the first? Had he not established an association for men at Clichy and Châtillon?" This reference is to the lay societies of St. Vincent.

tion was by mission to awaken the country districts to the peril of bad confessions. The formally-stated objects, however, are three: 1. the sanctification of its own members; 2. the work of preaching missions; 3. the training of an exemplary clergy.

The claim to originality attached to the name of the Priests of the Mission as established by St. Vincent de Paul is that, like his earlier associations of men, they were to be devoted solely to the poor, dull country people. "O gentlemen!" Vincent is said to have frequently exlaimed to his first disciples, "the poor are our portion. *Evangelizare pauperibus misit me.* What a blessing! Gentlemen, what a blessing! to do that which our Saviour has come on earth to do, to continue the work of this God Saviour, who forsook the cities to go to seek the poor in the rural districts—in a word, to aid the poor, our lords and masters, such is our mission."[34]

In the spirit of a high devotion to the physical and spiritual interests of poverty and of distress, St. Vincent de Paul labored for many years, drawing to himself nobles like Baron de Renty, who gave up rank and wealth for a higher mission, attracting youthful enthusiasts who sought the most difficult priesthood, that of the people, and moving all classes of people to devote great sums and earnest labors to philanthropy.

During the lifetime of St. Vincent his order had covered France and had invaded Italy, Corsica, Poland, Ireland, Scotland, Algeria, Tunis, and Madagascar. On the African coast the Lazarist missionaries vied with the Order of Mercy in redeeming slaves. The Calvarines, founded by Charpentier in 1635, the Order of St. Joseph, which Cretenet formed at Lyons, 1640, and the Lazarists alike perished during the Revolution, but the last named society was revived in 1804, abolished by Napoleon in 1809, and again resurrected in 1816. It

[34] Op. cit. supra, p. 220.

is now represented in almost every part of the world, and has especial charge of Asiatic missions since the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1773.[35] The present Order of St. Joseph was instituted by Von Crombrugghe at Grammont, Belgium, in 1817, as an educational brotherhood.[36]

To the eighteenth century belong the origin of the Congregation of the Holy Ghost and the institution of the Marists, the Passionists, and the Redemptorists. The first named of these brotherhoods dates from Paris, 1703, being the fruit of the labors of Claude Desplaces. In 1848 the Missioners of the Immaculate Heart of Mary, organized by Francis M. P. Lieberman in 1841, united with them to form the modern congregation of the Holy Ghost, both societies having the same objects, the perfection of the members, and the evangelization of the blacks, particularly in Africa. The society also entered the field of education, the French Seminary at Rome becoming its most noted school.

All the Marist societies are recorded among those which are interested in missions,[37] but the Missionaries of the Company of Mary, established in 1713 by Louis-Marie Grignon de Montfort, became the leading organization of Marists in this sphere of effort. Parochial missions were in the early thought of the founder, who died three years after writing his rule, leaving two young priests and a few lay brothers as the sole representatives of his prayers, travels, and self-sacrifices. From 1718 to 1780 the Montfortists conducted four hundred and thirty missions. They fought Jansenism and preached with success against the "heresies" of La Vendée and the Savoy, furnishing seven Vendean martyrs. A foreign mission to Haiti was undertaken in the latter part of the nineteenth century. Later, mission schools

[35] "The Annales de la Congregation de la Mission" are found in French, Italian, German, Spanish, Polish, and English editions.

[36] Vide infra, p. 180.

[37] Vide infra, p. 180. Also for Montfort, p. 178.

were established, Denmark, the Netherlands, and America were entered, and in 1901 the company took charge of an African mission.

Paolo Francesco Danei, St. Paul of the Cross, was living in religious retirement on Mt. Argentaro, when it was revealed to him that he was to found an order, which after surmounting not a few hills of difficulty he was able to do. In 1720 he was permitted to assume the habit of his order and as a layman to preach repentance; and in 1737, ten years after his ordination, he opened the first Passionist settlement on the summit above named. The rules of the order had been written long before, when the founder was yet a layman, and before he had assembled companions. "I began to write this holy rule," says its author, "on the second of December in the year 1720, and I finished it on the seventh day of the same month. And be it known that when I was writing I went on as quickly as if somebody in a professor's chair were there dictating to me. I felt the words come from my heart."[38] The Congregation, Discalced Clerks of the Most Holy Cross and Passion of Our Lord Jesus Christ, spread widely in Europe, and entered England in 1842, and ten years later the United States, where they prospered, and in 1906 became two provinces: St. Paul of the Cross, and Holy Cross. The life of the Passionists is austere above that of most other societies. Its members are said to fast three days in each week, as well as through Advent and Lent. They sleep little, and on straw beds with straw pillows, and they dress very simply. The life is one of conducting missions and retreats, or else of being engaged in study, in spiritual reading, and in contemplation.

The Redemptorists, or Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer, were founded by Alphonsus Maria de Liguori, a noble Neapolitan who had left the bar for

[38] "Life of St. Paul of the Cross," II, v.

the pulpit, in 1732, at Scala. The moral and spiritual destitution of the masses in cities and in rural districts impressed Alphonsus and appealed to his sense of duty, and he taught his order of secular priests to imitate in poverty and in zeal the life of Jesus, to refuse all dignities outside the society, and to minister by missions to all such as seemed to be most neglected by the other clergy. The order soon prospered, and it still flourishes widely.[39]

The titles of missionary orders of the nineteenth century make a considerable catalogue.[40] A second Society of Picpus,[41] a congregation established by Pierre Coudrin at Paris in 1805, entered upon the field of education, having a number of seminaries. About 1825 several members were sent to the Pacific Islands to convert the savages to Christianity, with the result that the order has since been given to great missionary activity. One of the most noted of the members was the famous Apostle to the Lepers, Father Damien, Joseph Damien de Veuster, a Belgian priest, who was sent to Honolulu. There he heard of the neglected state of the leper colony of seven or eight hundred people on the small Island of Molokai,[42] and he offered himself as a missionary to this sad community. From 1877 he became a physician to leprous bodies, magistrate and teacher to the minds of the distressed, chief agriculturist and superintendent of industry, cook, carpenter, and even gravedigger, when necessity arose. But above all he was minister of Christ and pastor of souls, working for some years single-handed, and then being joined by an associate in his office of living sacrifice. After twelve years of noble

[39] S. Cheetham, op. cit., p. 97.

[40] For a full list, vide "Missiones Catholicae," p. 853 ff.

[41] The first was a reformed Franciscan fraternity, Supra, p. 150.

[42] An account of an early visit to this island, which represents mingled horrors and fascinations, is found in C. W. Stoddard's "Summer Cruising in the South Seas," p. 109 ff.

toil the fatal disease whose ravages in others he had lessened or consoled seized upon Father Damien himself, but he continued his activities until the end, which came in 1889. Not even such a life as this, however, was able to escape the tongue of criticism, but to his chief detractor a scathing rebuke was ministered by the able pen of Robert Louis Stevenson.[48]

The Fathers of Mercy were at first Missionaires de France, established 1808 by Rauzan of Bordeaux for the restoration of religion after the Revolution. The modern order began from 1834 to conduct missions, to assist parochial clergy, and to serve the cause of education. Gaspar Bufalo in 1814 founded in Rome the Congregation of the Most Precious Blood to devote itself exclusively to parochial missions. This order entered the United States in 1844, beginning its work at Norwalk, Ohio. Charles de Mazenod in 1815 at Marseilles instituted the Oblates of Mary Immaculate. The Rosminians, or Fathers of Charity, founded by Antonio Rosmini in 1828 are a congregation of preachers, teachers, and missionaries, as are the Mission Priests of the Immaculate Conception, Lammenais, 1829, which absorbed also the society of St. Peter Félicité. The Missionaries of St. Francis de Sales of Annecy were instituted by Mermier at La Feuillette in 1830. It was to be a new religious congregation bound by simple vows,

[48] See Stevenson's famous "Letter to Dr. Hyde." However, Stevenson recognized the idiosyncracies and even serious faults of Father Damien, for in a letter to Sidney Colvin in 1889, he said: "It was a European peasant; dirty, bigoted, untruthful, unwise, tricky, but superb with generosity, residual candour, and fundamental good-humour; convince him that he had done wrong (it might take hours of insult) and he would undo what he had done and like his corrector better. A man, with all the grime and paltriness of mankind, but a saint and hero all the more for that." "Letters and Miscellanies of Robert Louis Stevenson," Vol. II, p. 188. "Father Damien," by Phillibert Tauvel, and the life written by Edward Clifford are very interesting accounts of the man and of his work, but the latter is much more human and real in the picture which it presents. This is a well-worded statement, as the frontispiece of Mr. Clifford's book is a sketch of Father Damien by Mr. Clifford and which reminds one of Angelo's "David," a face at which I never tired of looking.

and the members offered themselves for foreign missions. Being accepted in 1845, the first representatives were sent to India, and a work began which spread quite widely. The dioceses of Nagpur and Vizagapatam have always been under prelates of this order. The Confraternity of the Most Holy and Immaculate Heart of Mary was a pious association established in 1837 by Abbé Desgenettes, Paris, for the conversion of sinners. The Missionary Sons of the Immaculate Heart began their work in Spain in 1848 under Claret. The Missionary Fathers of La Sallette were instituted at Grenoble in 1852, not only to conduct missions, but to combat the crimes of the age, recalled by the apparition at La Sallette. The Paulist Fathers, Missionary Society of St. Paul the Apostle, 1858, the first Catholic congregation of American origin, was founded by Isaac Hecker, who was previously of the Brook Farm "Transcendentalists," and who, with several other converts, mainly from the Episcopal Church, entered upon a mission to convert non-Catholics. The Paulists do not take the usual vows, but are said to live the life of the vows most strictly. They have introduced into the Catholic Church a definite, well-organized missionary and literary propaganda to bring churchmen of other communions into the Roman fold. They use the press freely. In 1865 they founded a monthly, called *The Catholic World,* and they have established other journals which advocate the principles and further the work of the order. Missionary houses are located in various parts of the country, and the Paulists are well known for their aggressiveness.[44]

The Congregation of the Immaculate Heart of Mary, Verbiest, 1863, called also the Congregation of Scheutveld, with vast missions in China and in Africa, the So-

[44] The "Life of Father Hecker," Walter Elliott.

ciety of the Immaculate Conception, who work among Armenians and Georgians, 1864; the Society of the Divine Word, 1875, and the Congregation of the Missionaries of St. Charles Borromeo, 1887, devoted to providing priests and missions for Italian emigrants to America, may be studied as types of the later missionary orders of the Catholic Church, and such study makes it evident that in the detachment of many bodies of clergy in brotherhoods for special and advanced undertakings the Church is producing in many quarters results favorable to its plans, as it is doing in its lay societies also. Without a doubt these movements contain lessons whose learning would be profitable to all branches of Christianity.

It has been seen that the missionary orders of the Roman Church are of two general classes: those mainly devoted to home and to foreign missions respectively. Societies for the latter object have been very ably directed by the propaganda and supported by the Society for the Propagation of the Faith, Lyons, 1822, and they have borne the organization of the Roman Church to the ends of the earth.[45] Of the former type are those which seek the development of the Church itself by instructing its priesthood and laity, and those which seek to combat views regarded as heretical and to convert those holding such views. Schroeder explains the necessity for parochial missions by saying: "Owing to the changed conditions, intellectual, social, as well as religious, the older style of popular preaching had become inadequate to the exigencies of the age. The increasing number of sects with itinerant representatives, and a corresponding spread of religious indifference, called

[45] "History of the Christian Church," Fisher, p. 583, "The movements of its missionaries have been all the more effective from having been guided by a single committee composed of the cardinals of the Propaganda."

for specially organized work on the part of the Church."[46] It is hardly too much to say that it was the formation of these preaching brotherhoods and the activity of the other Roman orders in taking up labors of the same nature that saved the Roman Church of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries from annihilation. At the least they prevented many disastrous losses, they gained some substantial additions to the cause of Catholicism, and they proved to be a right arm of power and a long and strong arm of influence to the Church which gave them birth. In general it may be said that the propagandist orders far exceeded in value those societies devoted to ascetic and contemplative exercises. Their members were, as a rule, quite as pious and devoted as were the others, and their courage proved equal to the highest ventures. Even those who saw clearly their faults and who loved them little bore witness to the brilliant talents and the surpassing heroism of their best examples, and their exploits printed many a brave page in the annals of Christian conquest.

[46] "Catholic Encyclopedia," "Catholic Parochial Missions," Joseph Schroeder.

XI

EDUCATIONAL BROTHERHOODS

TEACHERS AND LITTERATEURS

"THE wide-reaching influences of Christianity," says Professor Painter, "have profoundly affected education. Christianity has placed education upon a new and memorable foundation."[1] The thought which this competent authority proceeds to develop is that in teaching the Fatherhood of God Christianity removed from education the fetters of national limits and prejudice, and that in giving the world the great conception of the brotherhood of mankind the character both of civilization and of education has been lifted out of the realm of class distinctions and away from the vices sanctioned by the philosophy and religion of ancient society. Professor Painter also emphasizes the fact that in His manner of instructing His disciples Christ gave to educators valuable lessons in method, and he quotes Karl Schmidt's saying, "By word and deed, in and with His whole life, Christ is the teacher and educator of mankind."[2]

During the period of Christian history which ends with the Reformation the Church had first of all its way to make, and then became subject to tendencies which confined the scope of its educational undertakings to the work of the monasteries and of the priesthood. To early Christian people, most of whom were illiterate, their religion became an education, and parents in-

[1] "History of Education," Professor F. V. N. Painter, p. 81.

[2] Ibid, p. 85.

structed their children, especially in the Scriptures. Catechumenal schools sprang up in the Apostolic Age,[3] and were followed by catechetical, episcopal, and cathedral institutions, one of the most important of the catechetical schools being that at Alexandria, established in the second century, where teachers and preachers were educated and where theological science had its birth. Schools were instituted in private houses and teachers were paid by gifts of pupils. In the Western Empire the schools were at first of civil foundation.[4] After the barbarian conquest the social system was subverted, and literary institutions felt the effects, and by the sixth century profane learning and the methods of acquiring it alike disappeared. The ascetic tendency had long struggled against heathen science. In the fourth century Basil the Great declared, "In the combat which we have to deliver for the Church we ought to be armed with every resource, and to this end the reading of poets, historians, and orators is very useful." But Augustine of the fifth century with vehemence opposed this view. "Those endless and godless fables," he declared, "with which the productions of conceited poets swarm by no means accord with our freedom; neither do the bombastic and polished falsehoods of the orator, nor finally the wordy subtleties of the philosopher."

By the conclusion of the sixth century the office of instruction had come to be in the hands of the clergy.[5] Municipal schools were succeeded by cathedral or episcopal establishments, attached to the residences of

[3] "Justin Martyr, about A. D. 150, says that those admitted to the Church by baptism had been previously prepared privately." "The Church of Christ," A. H. Charteris, p. 179. The author goes on to describe the method by which catechumens of various ages were trained by the early Church.

[4] "History of the Church," George Waddington, M. A., p. 262. "And intended entirely for the purposes of civil education."

[5] "A History of Education Before the Middle Ages," Graves, p. 294. "With the decree of Justinian, and the downfall of the pagan schools, the Christian education seems to have been left alone in the field."

bishops, and in the country elementary schools were formed in monasteries and in the residences of parochial priests. In these schools "purely secular studies were pursued only in the interest of the Church."[6] Discipline was very severe, and reading and writing did not usually form part of the curriculum, but the youths were taught the elements of Christian doctrine, and were prepared for public worship and for Church membership. Probably the expense of even this meager training was a heavy responsibility and may in part account for the failure of the Church to furnish a better course of study. The parochial schools answered to the early catechetical institutions, and the priests of each cathedral church were organized into a monastic brotherhood, one of the foremost offices of which was education, mainly of an other-worldly nature.

The glimmering light of the necessarily imperfect educational system which has been thus briefly sketched was almost wholly extinguished in Italy by the Lombard invasion, Rome alone retaining some zeal for learning, and it was not until Charlemagne that reanimation began to come to the intellectual life of Europe. This mighty man had a great thirst for knowledge. He invited to his court the best scholars of the day, of whom Alcuin of England was the most learned. He established a model school, contemplated the organization of a popular educational system, opposed the worldliness and immorality which had corrupted the clergy and monks, and laid upon them the obligation to teach the sciences, to the end that the Scriptures might be better understood. A new intellectual activity was thus stimulated, which, however, died away during the weak reign which followed, and until the Crusades mental

[6] Painter, op. cit., p. 100. J. J. Walsh, "Education, How Old the New?" p. 96. "The Church must certainly be held responsible in every way for the teaching of the Middle Ages, both as regards its extent and its limitations."

culture, which was still under ecclesiastical control, greatly degenerated. It was during this period that the Mohammedan learning, especially in Spain, whither it had been carried by the influence of the Encyclopedia of 1100, and of the system of higher education instituted at Basra by the Brothers of Sincerity, came to its best expressions and then passed into insignificance.[7]

Knightly education was imbued with principles the very opposite to those of the Church schools. Physical culture was held to be important, military science was thoroughly taught, with the elements of chivalry; to speak truth, to defend right, to honor women, to fight the Moslems, and to master poetry and music. The Minne-songs were the flower of knightly culture, and the purely intellectual studies were abandoned. In spite of its gallantry the knightly culture, like the Spartan and the Roman, savored of the discipline of severity.[8] But the rise of the town schools, which were rendered necessary by the growth of the mediæval cities, introduced practical themes, beginning with the indispensables, vulgarly termed the "Three R's." Geography, history, and natural science were introduced into the burgher schools, and Latin also; and despite the strife as to whether the control of the educational system should be civil or religious, and notwithstanding the small remuneration and uncertain employment of teachers, many of whom were vagrants, some progress was made toward better standards.

It was during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries that the Church was at the zenith of its power to dominate Europe. "Human history is without any parallel to the life of these centuries or to the state which society

[7] "A History of Education During the Middle Ages," Frank Pierrepont Graves, Ph. D., pp. 40-45.

[8] "Text-Book in the Principles of Education," Ernest Norton Henderson, Ph. D., p. 439.

had now reached."[9] The whole range of human activity was subject to ecclesiastical control, but at this very time the other-worldliness which had for centuries controlled intellectual life began to be broken in upon by the rise of a new spirit which founded universities. At first these institutions were characterized by a free and immoral tone, but at length they were drawn into relation with Church and State, the charters came from the popes, and the Church dominated their life.[10] In the fourteenth century, before the modern educational systems had been perfected, the Brotherhood of Gerhard Groote took up the work of popular instruction.[11] Without assuming the vows of monasticism the Brethren of the Common Life labored unselfishly in this great cause. Special emphasis was still laid upon purely religious education. "Spend no time," said the founder, "either on geometry, arithmetic, rhetoric, logic, grammar, poetry, or astrology. All these branches Seneca rejects; how much more, then, should a spiritually-minded Christian pass them by." Practical religious culture was, however, well imparted, with a considerable amount of sound knowledge. The schools of the brotherhood became popular, and from all quarters studious youths poured into them.

Famous institutions controlled by the Hieronymian or Gregorian Brethren, as they were sometimes called, from the names of their patron saints, were those at Deventer, Zwolle, Liège, Louvain, Mechlin, Cambrai, and Valenciennes. They also founded the College de Montaign in connection with the University of Paris, and the students in their schools were many thousands.

[9] "Social Evolution," Benjamin Kidd, p. 137. "All the attainments of the Greek and Roman genius are buried out of sight."

[10] The relation between the Dominicans and the Universities of Europe is treated at length in chapter xiv, "Christian Schools and Scholars," A. T. Drane.

[11] See pp. 88-91.

These institutions became recognized centers of the humanistic learning which entered so largely into the preparation for the Reformation under Luther.[12] In Germany they prevented the new study of the classics, which the art of printing, discovered in 1440, had given great stimulation, from carrying Christianity away from its moorings into cultured heathenism, and they turned the influence of the new education toward the strengthening and purification of the Church.[13]

From the foregoing it is evident that it was not a symmetrical or satisfactory development which attended the history of education before the Reformation, but the Renaissance in the fifteenth century marked a new gathering of life, and the attention of the Roman Church was forcibly turned to the need of a broader and deeper intellectual culture by the upheaval of the sixteenth century. The biographer of St. Ignatius Loyola says: "He saw that the Reformers were striving to lay hold of the rising generation, and that the most effectual means of encountering them was to secure the Catholic training of the young. Therefore he made the instruction of the young a part of the Jesuit's duties."[14] The first

[12] Graves, op. cit., p. 146. "Before the opening of the Renaissance they had established a chain of forty-five houses extending through the Netherlands, the German States, and France, and within a generation this number had trebled."

[13] Kurtz, "History of the Christian Church to the Reformation," Edersheim edition, p. 502: "In Germany these studies were chiefly cultivated by the 'Brethren of the Common Life,' who succeeded in adapting the new weapons to the service of theology and of the Church. This school gave birth to many of the coadjutors of Luther." Ibid: "In truth, the despised schoolmen and the derided monks were not always in the wrong in their opposition to the Humanists. A reformation of the Church accomplished by them alone would speedily have landed in heathenism."

[14] "Saint Ignatius Loyola," Francis Thompson, p. 168: "During the first four or five years of his new order, this instruction was confined to religious teaching, but that, he perceived, was not sufficient. He must provide also secular training. The new doctrines were threatening to capture the Universities; and his Society would have to be a learned society. . . . So he labored to establish instruction likewise in the sciences—excluding only such as seemed inimical to religion."

regular college of the society was established in 1546 by the zeal of Francis Borgia. It was located at Gandia, and its regulations were afterward extended to all the Jesuit colleges. Thus the missionary Jesuits entered the field of education.[15] Similar action was taken by most of the older orders, and many new societies sprang up whose twofold object was to combat the opponents of the Church and to furnish Christian education.

The leaders of the Reformation were men of erudition, and they were ardent advocates of the cause of education, as have been also their descendants.[16] The scholarly Reuchlin applied to his *magnum opus,* the combined Hebrew grammar and lexicon, the words of Horace, *"Exegi monumentum aere perennius;"* but his greatest monument was his grand-nephew, Melanchthon, Luther's warm friend and follower, whom he trained in Greek, Latin, Hebrew, Biblical exegesis, logic, mathematics, history, law, and medicine. Melanchthon made such good use of his splendid education in his support of humanism, in his preparation of text-books, and in his organization of schools that by common consent, then and since, he has been known as *Germaniæ præceptor.*[17]

Protestantism, as Professor Henderson truly says,

[15] Drane, op. cit., pp. 708 and 713, "The establishment of the Jesuit Colleges poured a flood of light on the whole subject of educational reform."

[16] "The Reformation represented by Luther was no less an educational than a religious movement: it awakened a sense of the worth of the individual; the longing for the perfection of personality in its all-sidedness, intellectual, moral, and physical, was aroused. It stirred the parental and official conscience to educate children and citizens. Schools, which as an institution were hitherto only a part of the educational system, and chiefly as a means of training servants of the Church, now sprang up as a co-ordinate agency in the upbuilding of humanity." "Modern Educators and Their Ideals," Tadasu Misawa, Ph. D., p. 11.

[17] Vide Graves, op. cit., p. 155 ff. "The advice of Melanchthon was sought personally or through correspondence by princes, magistrates, and educators, and his genius for organization, methods, and texts was felt everywhere in his native land." p. 157.

"emphasized the importance of literacy for all, thus urging the need for the creation of common schools."[18] The Lutherans, Calvinists, Pietists, Moravians, and Methodists have been strong supporters of public schools, and they have founded and maintained a great number of most successful institutions of learning, including most of the famous colleges of America, where the Methodists especially have a chain of higher institutions of learning covering the entire country. As the Reformers were much prejudiced against the Roman orders, they did not commit to the care of brotherhoods the schools which they established and controlled, and work of this kind has been done by Protestant fraternities very rarely, and during a comparatively recent period. It is thought by some that the time may come when circumstances will demand a closer relationship between the colleges and the brotherhoods in Churches of the Reformation.[19]

Among educational orders established during the modern period of Roman Church history, the Fathers of Somasquo should be included. Jerome Aemiliani, a noble Venetian, banded together these Clerks of St. Maieul "to instruct the ignorant, and particularly young persons, in the principles and precepts of the Christian religion, and to procure assistance for those who were reduced to the unhappy condition of orphans." This society, recognized in 1540, was joined in the same ministry by the Fathers of the Christian Doctrine of France and Italy, the work in the latter country being instituted by Cusani, a Milanese knight,

[18] Henderson, op. cit. "Thus religion led the way in promoting the giving of culture that ultimately found its main value in worldly affairs." p. 447.

[19] The Lutherans have many parochial schools, and before the above sentence was printed, a beginning of elementary school work in America under Protestant auspices had been reported from another denominational source.

and in the former by César de Bus, whose society, organized about 1560, was confirmed in 1592. Cusani's society was composed of both priests and laymen who confined their efforts to teaching the catechism to children on Sundays and to instructing ignorant peasants whenever it was possible to reach them. After a time the society divided into two sections, "The Fathers of Christian Doctrine" and the laymen's "Confraternity of Christian Doctrine," which became an arch-confraternity, and in the modern period was ordered canonically erected in every parish.

The Piarists, Regular Clerks of the Scuole Pie, date from 1597.[20] Their founder was a Spanish nobleman, José Calasanzio, who opened a free school, soon attended by seven hundred children. The order was recognized officially, and it became widespread and so popular as to escape many of the vicissitudes which overtook other Roman orders. Italy, Spain, Germany, Poland, Austria, and Hungary have seen the Piarist schools, which still flourish, particularly in Austria and in Poland, and whose leaders at last accounts managed two hundred educational institutions. The members of the order take the usual monastic vows, to which a fourth is added binding them to devote themselves to gratuitous instruction of youth. The habit and government of the Piarist Fathers is very similar to those of the Jesuits, whom they rival in their activities.[21] The Oratorians, especially the Oratory of Jesus, became about 1611 a teaching order. They departed from the training of the Jesuits, which they held to be mechanical and pretentious, and they came into friendly relations with Port Royal. Juilly was their best known college, and among their noted teachers Lamy published a "Treatise on

[20] Alzog, in loco, says 1600, and Graves 1617, the date of recognition.
[21] Graves, op. cit., p. 228.

the Sciences" and Thomassin produced "Methods," for language study and for the study of philosophy and literature.[22]

An institution which for two centuries so labored as to reflect high honor upon the Church was established about 1618 by Dom Bénard, a monk of St. Vannes. The Congregation of St. Maur[23] was a reformation of the Benedictine Order, which had become too wealthy and worldly. That in the Northern countries the Benedictine rule came to seem to have a joint authorship is seen in Chaucer's couplet:

> "The reule of seint Maure and of seint Benet,
> Because that it was olde and somdele streit."

Bénard enjoined strict morality, and stimulated intellectual pursuits with such success that the literary world was placed under great indebtedness to Maurist labors. The very highest degree of scholarship was attained by members of the congregation of St. Maur, and the stately "Benedictine Editions" began to appear. Vast stores of historical material were gathered from far and near. The fields of ecclesiastical and of French history were explored, and new books and reprints of old ones were published. The most distinguished monks acted as editors, and the others sought the sources or performed clerical duties. When an author or helper died, another took his place, and the work went on. The rarest manuscripts were bought, and the publications issued were enriched by an attention to typographical finish which comported with the erudition displayed in the contents. Among the most noted names of Maurist scholars of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries are Mabillon, Martène, Montfauçon, Ruinart, Durand, the brothers De Sainte-Marthe, Le

[22] Graves, op. cit., pp. 222 and 223.

[23] See Alston, "The Congregation of St. Maur," Downside Review, 1906.

Nourri, and Martianay.[24] Mabillon has been considered the father of diplomacy, his "De re diplomatica" having been followed by other Maurist works on the same subject. Chronology was made a new science, if it was not indeed in an exact sense created by this order of scholars. The "Art de virifer les dates," by Dantine and Clémencet, is known to all historical students and is regarded as the chief monument of French learning in the eighteenth century. The Maurist works on philology are still unsurpassed. In their publication of original documents and sources these indefatigable toilers blazed the way of modern historical research. Montfaucon was the founder of the science of archæology. Theology was placed in lasting debt for the great editions of the Church fathers which the congregation published, the text being verified by most painstaking researches and comparisons. De Retz and Richelieu supported the order, which in 1728 had one hundred and eighty abbeys and priories in France. Being liberal in views, the Maurists were subjects of Jesuit opposition. They gave sympathy to Port Royal and its recluses, and at one time they were accused of alliance with Freemasonry. Like the other Romanist orders, they were dispersed by the Revolution, the last of the old Benedictines of St. Maur, Dom Brial, being a French Academician. A modern revival in 1837 resulted in a weak imitation of this famous society of learning and of zeal.[25]

Two educational movements of the seventeenth century, one Roman Catholic and the other Lutheran, have so much in common that they should be considered side by side. Jansenism was the fruit of the labors of Jan-

[24] McCarthy, "The lives of the principal writers of the Congregation of St. Maur."

[25] The bibliography of writings on the Maurists is extensive, including the works by Berlière, Dantier, Le Cerf, Vanel, and such lexicons as Hélyot, op. cit., and Heimbucher, "Die Orden und Kongregationen der Katholischen Kirche."

senius, Bishop of Ypres in the Netherlands, who was an ardent admirer of St. Augustine, and who republished the evangelical views of the father and labored for this doctrine and for greater practical piety in the Roman Catholic Church. Jansenist views and methods were in sharp contrast with those of the Jesuits. Evils in the Church, and especially in the monasteries, were fearlessly attacked. Public instruction in the knowledge of religion and of right conduct was demanded, and the use of the Bible in the tongue of the people was declared necessary. In France, Arnauld,[26] Pascal, and Fénelon[27] were the most distinguished leaders, and the center of the movement there was Port Royal, already mentioned, and which was an ancient convent near Paris, where devoted men, "Gentlemen of Port Royal," gave their lives to piety, to study, and to the instruction of youth. They produced good text-books, inventing the phonic system of spelling, and in their *petites écoles* they taught reformation not by discipline, but by divine grace. They persisted in calling themselves Catholics, and for a century maintained their work within the Church. They opposed penance and confession, appealed to St. Augustine and to the Scriptures as Luther had done, and they declared that they sought to bring back the Church to its original principles. Like the Oratorians, they followed Descartes' philosophy, and they believed in the development of

[26] This doctor of the Sorbonne was expelled for holding the views of Chrysostom and St. Augustine, and for fifty years he was pursued by indomitable enemies. For many years, especially from 1656 to 1668, he was obliged to remain in concealment. "A strict search was instituted, and he had many narrow escapes. 'Would you like me to tell you where M. Arnauld is?' asked a lady, when the gens-d'armes were searching for him in every corner of her house. 'He is safely hidden here,' pointing to her heart. 'Arrest him if you can.'" "French Jansenists," M. Tollemache, p. 115. This work is a fine series of biographies of Jansenius and his followers.

[27] Pascal and Fénelon have been oft considered in histories and in biographies. An interesting brief account of the latter in "Men of Might," Benson & Tatham, deserves notice.

reason. These educational and religious reformers produced excellent results, and while they were attacked by their Jesuit rivals and suppressed by Louis XIV, who also persecuted the Protestants, they have been highly praised by Cousin, Vinet, Sainte-Beuve, and by the leading writers on the history of education.[28]

Pietism represents another religious educational movement whose work was superintended by a group of distinguished men who were essentially a Christian brotherhood. The term Pietist, which, like the name Methodist, was originally one of reproach, represents an effort to revive a true spiritual life in the "dead orthodoxy" which had fallen upon the Protestant Church. Jacob Spener was the able and devout originator of Pietism. In 1670, while pastor at Frankfort-on-the-Main, he opened in his own house meetings for the promotion of Biblical study and for the culture of evangelical piety. At Dresden, as court preacher, and at Berlin he continued his earnest labors. What Spener sought, according to Kurtz, was a "return from scholastic theology to the Holy Scriptures as the living source of all saving knowledge, a conversion of the outward orthodox confession into an inner living theology of the heart, and a demonstration thereof in true piety of life."[29] The educational work of the Pietists was greatly advanced by August Hermann Francke. Born in Lübeck in 1663, and educated at Gotha, Erfurt, and Kiel, he became a famous scholar and a no less ardent Christian. His lectures at Leipsic on the Old and New Testaments attracted attention for their contrast with the cold, logical processes of the universities. In 1687 Francke went to Hamburg and established there a primary school, in which he discovered the emptiness of the ordinary school curriculum and the failure of its discipline, and where

[28] Graves, op. cit., 228 ff.

[29] Kurtz, "History of the Christian Church."

he determined to do something for the improvement of schools and of instruction. The University of Halle was founded in 1691, and by the influence of Spener, Francke became its professor of Greek and Oriental languages. There this devoted spirit became the source of a mighty work, educational and charitable, both in the university, whose courses he improved and whose students he elevated in moral tone, and also in the community, for whose culture in primary and secondary education he established valuable institutions. Beginning by inviting young and old into his own home, he learned the condition and needs of the poor, and he deprived himself of comforts in order to supply their wants. Books were bought, teachers were secured; a pedagogium for the higher classes was established, which, with its museum, chemical and physical laboratories, and botanical garden, marked a new departure in secondary education. A Latin school, a German burgher school, an orphan house, a free table with six hundred and fifteen indigent scholars, with other agencies for popular education, were also set at work. Count Zinzendorf, a founder of the Moravian Brethren, as will be seen later, was a pupil of Francke's, who with all his passion for knowledge and for its impartation to others, was most zealous for piety. "A grain of living faith," he said, "is worth more than a pound of historic knowledge; and a drop of love, than an ocean of science." Yet Francke was not too ascetic to realize that youth needs pleasure and recreation, which, in due proportions of physical exercise and of mechanical employments, he provided. At the time of his death, in 1727, he had in his care four thousand two hundred and seventy-three teachers, pupils, and dependents. The Pietists as a class were most religious and amiable spirits. They received much persecution, but they wrought lasting good to the Church of Christ. Their teachers

and ministers scattered over all Europe, everywhere disseminating gospel truth; their missions in India were for a century of much value, and their printing-presses sent forth several millions of copies of the Bible and of the New Testament. The permanent influence of Pietism is found not only in the life of the Evangelical Lutheran Church, in which body all save the Moravians remained, but to a very great degree in the religious and educational interest and culture of the Church universal.[30]

The Sulpicians, a Romanist priestly order established by Abbè Olier at the Seminary of St. Sulpice, Paris, 1642, devoted itself to theological instruction and has produced several distinguished theologians. The order is represented in America. The educational work of the Bethlehemites has already been mentioned.[31] Educational work for boys, attempted during this period by Fourier and Barré, failed, and the work of Démia, who established the Brethren of St. Charles at Lyons in 1666, did not spread.

Towards the close of the seventeenth century occurred the organization of Brothers of the Christian Schools.[32] In Rheims, France, a canon of the metropolitan Church, becoming much exercised over the lamentable disorders among the multitudes, and which were due to their ignorance of the elements of knowledge and of the principles of religion, in 1680 formed a society of religious teachers, approved by the Church,

[30] Professor A. C. McGiffert, "Protestant Thought Before Kant," p. 161, thus sums up the work of the Pietistic movement: "Of its immense services in the field of charitable and religious work—the foundation of orphan asylums, the education of the young, the care of the poor, the promotion of foreign missions—it is impossible to speak here. Its great influence was before long undermined by Rationalism, but it never ceased to make itself felt, and it became one of the factors in the revival of religion and the reconstruction of theology at the beginning of the nineteenth century."

[31] Supra, p. 132.

[32] Better known as Christian Brothers, Vide Wilson, "The Christian Brothers," chap. vii.

but not taking holy orders, and which is known as the Institute of Brothers of the Christian Schools. This work of Jean Baptiste de La Salle[33] enlists those who seek their own sanctification and the Christian education of youth. The direction of any male educational institution is undertaken, provided Latin be excluded. The principal object is, however, to provide elementary gratuitous schools, especially for the children of artisans.

La Salle found that the teachers of his time, if skilled, abandoned the children of the poor for the greater compensation to be gained by instruction in wealthy families. He therefore attempted the work of furnishing instructors both qualified and unselfish. In this task he met with greater difficulties than he had expected. In 1688 the curé of Saint Sulpice invited him to Paris to build a school in that parish. In 1691 he established a house at Vaugirard. In 1698 James II of England entrusted to him the training of fifty Irish boys of good family. A year later he established on Sundays the first technical school of Europe, each session closing with religious instruction. In 1705 a large institution was opened in Rouen. When La Salle died, in 1719, he had two hundred and forty-two brothers and nine thousand pupils. Pedagogy is said to owe to him the transformation in common schools from individual to class instruction, a method which had been previously employed only in universities and locally by Fourier. He also followed the short-lived example of Port Royal in teaching his pupils to read in the vernacular instead of in Latin. Normal schools for the first time made possible for elementry schools teachers of ability and of training.[34]

[33] For "Life," see Ravetet, Paris, 1888.

[34] "While the Jesuits and Christian Brothers were the first educators in history to undertake the training of teachers, and their work was most thoroughly done, both orders tended to preserve the most formal and stereotyped methods." Graves, op. cit., in loc.

The Institute of Brothers of the Christian Schools is governed by a superior general elected for life, and whose assistants are twelve in number. Members of the society are usually admitted at from sixteen to eighteen years of age, and they are trained first of all to religious fervor. They follow the methods of their founder as contained in his "Conduite des écoles."[35] During the eighteenth century the congregation was little known outside of France, having only a few institutions in Italy and elsewhere. During the French Revolution, as the members refused to take the civic oath, the schools were broken up. Salomon, secretary general, was put to death in Paris, as were several of the brothers elsewhere. In 1798 the directory expelled the Italian members, and the institute, reduced to twenty members wearing the habit, seemed ruined. When Napoleon signed the concordat with Pius VII, the Institute of Brothers of the Christian Schools came again to life and soon flourished. By 1821 nine hundred and fifty brothers and novices, three hundred and ten schools, and fifty thousand pupils were numbered, and the schools spread to many countries, including Belgium, China, India, Canada, and the United States. In 1874, at the close of the generalship of Brother Philippe, the houses of the institute were eleven hundred and forty-nine, and the pupils in all parts of the world were said to be three hundred and fifty thousand. During the generalship of Brother Joseph, which closed in 1897, great care was given to developing the institute in works of Christian perseverance. Patronages, clubs, alumni associations, boarding-houses, and spiritual retreats were developed and became prosperous. National federations and annual meetings of alumni associations are found in Belgium and in the United States. In the early years of

[35] First published at Avignon, 1720. "Management of Christian Schools," New York, 1898.

the twentieth century the legislation which abolished religious teaching drove the institute out of France, but it has spread almost everywhere else. The Brothers of the Christian Schools are too closely engaged in teaching to produce much literature, save text-books which they have published in many languages.[36]

It seems appropriate in this place to mention a similarly named institute having the same purpose as the society just considered, the Christian Brothers of Ireland, established in 1802 by a merchant of Waterford, Edmund Ignatius Rice, and which in 1820 became the first Irish order of men approved by charter from Rome. Mr. Rice was distressed by the wretched state of Catholic boys in Waterford, and, leaving his business, he devoted his whole fortune and life to education. He was soon joined by others, some of whom made similar sacrifices. Primary, secondary, and technical education were undertaken, and the order spread not only in Ireland, but in many other countries, including in 1906 the United States. Orphanages and schools for the deaf and dumb constitute one of the specialties. The superior general resides in Dublin.

To resume the main channel of review, in 1705 began the work of the Brothers of St. Gabriel, the congregation of Louis-Marie Grignon de Montfort, whose purpose is Christian education of the young, and the establishment and care of deaf, dumb, blind, and orphan asylums. The mother-house was originally at La Vendée, but when the teaching orders were driven from France in 1905, Péruwelz, Belgium, became the center. The American beginning occurred in 1888 in Canada, under the auspices of the Sulpician Fathers. The order

[36] Graves, op. cit., pp. 230-232. This author says that the Christian Brothers' Schools are "predominantly ascetic in their tone. There is, nevertheless, much to admire in the history and system of the Christian Brothers, and in the wonderful work which they have done for elementary education among the Catholics."

is also represented in the United States. In 1906 one hundred and seventy schools and colleges, eight asylums for the deaf and dumb, four for the blind, and several orphanages were reported by the Institut des Frères de St. Gabriel.

Of considerable interest to the student of educational orders are the Mechitarists, who are the Benedictines of Armenia, organized in 1712 by one Mechitar.[37] They are not classed among Benedictine congregations, though recognized by Clement XI under that rule, but they are independent. Missionaries, writers, and teachers, these monks devote themselves to priestly ministry, to the training of youth, and to the publication of Armenian literature. They take oath "to work together in harmony so that they may the better win the schismatics back to God." The parent abbey is St. Lazaro, Venice. The houses are in Italy, Austro-Hungary, Russia, Persia, and Turkey. Mechitar taught his followers to study early Armenian writings and to use the printing-press. He published in 1734 an Armenian Bible, in 1737 a "Commentary on the Gospel of St. Matthew," and later, in the Armenian tongue, a grammar, a dictionary, a catechism, and other works. Valuable additions to general knowledge have been made by the Mechitarists in recovering in ancient Armenian translations valuable lost works of Fathers of the Church, among them the "Letters of St. Ignatius of Antioch, several works of St. Ephrem, the Syrian, and a very valuable edition of Eusebius.[38]

The Congregation of the Brothers of Charity, founded in Belgium early in the nineteenth century by Canon Pierre J. Triest of Ghent, not only engaged in humanitarian works, but established and maintains a consider-

[37] See "Tschamtschenanz," Venice. The lives of Mechitar, as well as this history of the order are Venetian, save for Newman of Leipzig.

[38] Illgen's "Hist. and Theolog. Review," 1841, p. 143 et seq.

able number of schools. These institutions are for defectives, for dependents, for incorrigibles, and for industrial and scientific instruction. The superior general of the order resides in Ghent. The principal American establishments are in Montreal and in Boston. A second Order of St. Joseph,[39] founded in Grammont, Belgium, in 1817 by Canon von Crombrugghe, devoted itself to improving the education of children of the industrial and commercial classes.

Three Roman Catholic societies named for the Virgin Mary are interested in the cause of intellectual and religious training. These societies were established almost simultaneously. The Marist Fathers at Lyons, 1816, the Marianists at Bordeaux in 1817, and the Marist School Brothers in the same year in Central France. The Marist Fathers represent the work of seminarians who at the Restoration of 1815 saw an opportunity for religion. The real founder was J. C. M. Colin, and the work undertaken was the establishment of missions, domestic and foreign, and colleges and seminaries for clerical training. Priests and lay-brothers, who after a long probation take priestly vows but care for temporalities, make up the order. The general officers live in Rome. A vow of special devotion to Mary is added to the three monastic obligations. The Marist Fathers have done their best mission work in Oceanica, where they have also contributed to science by describing the languages, fauna, and flora of the islands where they labor. In America they are represented in eleven States and in Mexico. Their training-houses are in Washington, and their four American colleges are Jefferson, La.; St. Marys, Me.; All Hallows', Utah, and the Georgia Marist College.

The Marianists, or Society of Mary, of Paris, were founded by William Joseph Chaminade. Clerical and

[39] Vide supra, pp. 153, 154.

lay members of this order take the simple vows, and at their final profession they add a vow of stability of service to the Virgin. The energies of the society are given to educational undertakings of every kind. Headquarters are in Nivelles, Belgium. In the United States, where the Marianists were introduced in 1849, are over fifty establishments, of which the majority are parochial schools, and the others are normal schools, high schools, and colleges.[40]

In 1910 the Little Brothers of Mary, or Marist School Brothers, had grown to number six thousand members, pursuing educational labors in most parts of the world. Their work was begun by Champagnat, who worked zealously for primary education, and who wrote manuals of pedagogic method. When the founder died, in 1840, he had three hundred followers and forty-eight schools. The Marist Brothers of North America were incorporated under the laws of the State of New York in 1885. Not only primary, but boarding-schools, academies, industrial schools, homes for working boys, and orphanages are conducted. These Brothers are not ecclesiastics, and never accept postulants who aspire to the priesthood. At the same date which witnessed these beginnings, 1817, Mennais founded at Saint-Briens, France, a congregation called Brothers of Christian Instruction, which arose from the restriction imposed by John Baptiste de la Salle, who forbade Brothers to go on a mission singly. The first novices of the new society were trained by the Christian Brothers, whose rules they followed in the main. From France the society spread to England, Africa, Asia, Oceanica, and America. In 1903 the congregation conducted four hundred and twenty educational institutions, including trade, boarding, and agricultural schools and orphanages.

The modern policy of the Roman Catholic Church

[40] Alzog, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 945.

has turned the attention of the orders very largely to the field of labor which is under consideration. Older societies have adapted their efforts to the demand for education under Church control, and new teaching orders have sprung up, having very similar ideals and displaying marked devotion to their work. The Congregation of Holy Cross, a band of priests and lay brothers, represents a union by Rome of the Brothers of St. Joseph, founded by Dujarié, pastor at Ruillé, France, in 1820, with the Auxiliary Priests of Le Maris, established in 1835. The object which inspired Dujarié was the re-establishment of the Christian schools, then almost destroyed by the Revolution. At first only Brothers were admitted, but after the consolidation candidates for the priesthood were received. The members of the Religious Order of Holy Cross declare it to be their essential purpose to seek the perfection of the members by the evangelical counsels, the sanctification of their fellow-men by preaching the Divine Word, especially in country places and in foreign missions, and the instruction and Christian education of youth. The society undertook a mission in Algeria, but did not remain there after the schools were laicized. A more successful work exists in Eastern Bengal. In Canada the congregation has many schools, but its chief work is in the United States, where its story is largely that of a great university and of the many schools and colleges which have sprung out of this successful institution. In 1841 Father Edward Sorin, who later became the head of the society throughout the world, went into an almost primeval forest in Northern Indiana and established Notre Dame, now one of the strongest of Catholic educational institutions and a center of the literary and propagandist activity of the Church which it represents. To 1820, the year of the origin of the Congregation of

Holy Cross, belongs also the beginning of the Brothers of the Sacred Heart, founded by Père André Coindre at Lyons, France, for self-sanctification and for the Christian education of youth.

The Brothers of Our Lady of Lourdes, established by Glorieux in 1830, seek not only the Christian education of the young, but the care of orphans and of the sick and aged. The Clerics of Saint Viateur were an educational community established by Father Querbes at Vouries, near Lyons, in 1835, and now somewhat widely represented, especially in Canada and in the United States. The Xaverian Brothers date from 1839, when they were organized at Bruges, Belgium, by Theodore James Ryken. The founder purposed "a congregation of men who would willingly sacrifice their lives to the Christian education of youth." This society was introduced into the United States in 1854 at Louisville, Ky., and is represented at Baltimore and elsewhere.

Among other Romanist orders are the Brothers of the Holy Infancy, 1853, which cares for and educates children, including juvenile criminals, and the Salesian Fathers, a society of priests and lay-brothers founded by Don Bosco at Turin, 1864, for the care and education of homeless boys, rescued from the streets, and for other educational work.

The efforts of the Roman educational orders have been largely given to the training of men and boys. "As compared with the Protestants, little was done by the Catholics for any stage of the education of women."[41] Protestant education has been confined almost exclusively to adult pupils; colleges and relatively weak secondary schools absorbing the attention of the Church, and elementary education being left to the State. While the Protestant brotherhoods, as was previously stated,

[41] Graves, op. cit., p. 286.

have had little relation to learning, the Roman orders have been the leading educators of their Church and have established institutions of every grade.

With reference to the position of the Roman Catholic Church on the general subject of education, Professor E. A. Pace makes these points: "1. Intellectual education must not be separated from moral and religious education. To impart knowledge or to develop mental efficiency without building up moral character is not only contrary to psychological law, but is also fatal both to the individual and to society. 2. Religion should be an essential part of education; it should form not merely an adjunct to instruction in other subjects, but the center about which these are grouped and the spirit by which they are permeated. 3. Sound moral instruction is impossible apart from religious education. 4. An education which unites the intellectual, moral, and religious elements is the best safeguard for the home. It also ensures the performance of social duties. 5. Far from lessening the need of moral and religious training, the advance in educational methods rather emphasizes that need. 6. Catholic parents are bound in conscience to provide for the education of their children, either at home or in schools of the right sort."[42] After making these statements the author of them adds, "That the need of moral and religious education has impressed the minds of non-Catholics also, is evident from the movement inaugurated in 1903 by the Religious Education Association in the United States." With all of the propositions made above, few, if any, Protestant scholars would disagree. The difference between the two great Western branches of the Christian Church with reference to education is in the matter of authority, and of its relation to the development of the individual. An

[42] The above are Professor Pace's own words, but the points are enlarged upon with particular illustrations, in the author's article, "Education in General," "Catholic Encyclopedia."

enforced obedience to dogma and discipline, which, Professor Graves declares, always marred the Jesuit type of education and prevented its highest attainments,[48] is repugnant to the Protestant mind, which also seems to prefer a public school education of young children in moral and religious precepts without sectarian bias, but which, in view of the exclusion of all Christian elements from the instruction of the secular schools, shows signs of great restlessness and a tendency to insist upon some better system of culture which shall include religion. It is not too much to affirm that nothing except the reintroduction of the Bible and of Christian precepts into the public schools will save them from the competition of Protestant as well as of Roman parochial schools. In the settlement of this question the Christian brotherhoods are likely to have a place of great prominence.

[48] Op. cit., p. 220.

XII

MODERN ROMAN LAY BROTHERHOODS

POLITICAL, BENEVOLENT, TEMPERANCE, AND PAROCHIAL SOCIETIES

In the Roman Church the hierarchy and the priesthood from ancient times very largely constituted the Church, so far as its government and discipline were concerned. The wealth of prelates and of Roman colleges and orders contributed in a way to independence of the laity, and the high education of the priesthood, which absorbed most of the ablest men of the Church, tended to the same end. It has been seen that at the beginning most of the Roman orders admitted lay brothers, who comprised the greater part of the members, all of whom performed manual labor. The majority of St. Benedict's monks were not clerics, and the only discrimination against any was that some had taken the habit too late in life or lacked the necessary talent to become *oblati* or *nutriti*. Later, about the end of the tenth century, the scholastic studies were increased, and the proportion of clerics became greater, when those "religious" classed as lay brothers not only were given the work which some one must do, but came to be "occupied solely with manual labor and with the secular affairs of a monastery or friary."[1] The inferiority of the lay brothers is indicated in the titles at various times applied to them: *fratres conversi, laici barbati, illiterati,* or *idiotæ*. Even to the present time the lay brothers who are to be found in the majority of Catholic religious orders are "mostly pious and laborious persons usually drawn from the

[1] Leslie Alexander St. L. Toke, B. A., "Lay Brothers," "Cath. Encycl."

working-classes of the community, who, while unable to attain to the degree of learning requisite for holy orders, are yet drawn to the religious life and able to contribute by their toil to the prosperity of the house or order of their vocation."[2] The lay brothers are distinguished from choir brothers by the garb which they wear, as well as by the life which they must lead.

From the eighth century onward, for at least three centuries a number of laymen were powerful in the Church of Rome by reason of grants of Church lands and abbeys made to them by monarchs of whom they were the ofttimes corrupt favorites. This practice became a great evil and was one of the causes of that corruption of the monastic orders which frustrated the plans and destroyed the good works of saintly founders. The investitures conflict finally brought about an end to this abuse. In spite of their inferior position lay brothers often came by reason of special ability and piety to secure great influence in the Church, and the laity outside of the orders exercised a power dependent altogether upon the condition of the society of which they were a part and of the circumstances which grew out of the needs of the Church.

Several political organizations of Catholics, largely of laymen, have existed at various periods. In 1538 the Roman Catholic princes of Germany formed a "Holy League of Nuremberg" to combat the designs of the princes who had formed a Protestant or Schmalkaldic League. The Catholic party was composed of the Emperor Charles V, Dukes William and Louis of Bavaria, George of Saxony, and Erich and Henry of Brunswick, who with the Archbishops of Mayence and Salzburg formed a treaty for the defense of the Catholic faith, which confederacy was to last eleven years. The truce of 1539, however, rendered the combination unneces-

[2] Ibid.

sary.[3] The Guises in France, Philip II of Spain, the pope, the monks, and the French Parliament in 1576 formed another Holy League against Henry III of France and the Protestants. The object was the overthrow of the Huguenots. A war commenced in 1577 was soon ended by the Peace of Bergerac; but when the Protestant Henry of Navarre, later Henry IV, became heir to the throne in 1584, the league again sprang into life. The active part taken by the States, especially the sixteen districts of Paris, led the league to be sometimes called Ligue des Seize, though this was really a separate organization. The War of the Henrys was the final outcome of the activities of the league. Henry of Guise and Henry III were both murdered, and strife continued until Henry IV, in order to gain the throne, professed, in 1593, the Catholic faith. When Henry was absolved by the pope, the Catholic party joined the royal standard and the league ceased to exist.[4] Henry, however, in 1598, by the edict of Nantes, granted entire religious liberty and political rights to the Protestants.[5] Another league was formed in Germany in the seventeenth century.

About 1794, succeeding earlier societies of the same type, known as Whiteboys, Threshers, and by other titles, an organization of Catholic men was formed in Ireland which was called the Defenders, or Ribbonmen, and which sought politically to defend and to further the purposes of Catholicism. This society gave rise on the Protestant side to the "Peep-of-Day Boys," afterwards the rich and powerful Orange society, known as Orangemen. These organizations had many turbulent and disgraceful combats. The Catholic Relief Act of 1828 aroused much animosity between them, and in 1828

[3] "Church History During the Reformation," Hardwick, p. 63 ff.

[4] Mignet, Paris, 1829, published a "Hist. de la Ligue," in five volumes. See also De Felice's "Hist. Protestantism in France."

[5] Willert, "Henry of Navarre and the Huguenots of France."

and 1829 bloody conflicts took place in Clare, Armagh, and Fermanagh Counties, Ireland, which contests have been continued in later days and in various forms, including a riot in New York in 1871, and in Belfast in 1880 and in 1886. Agitation was renewed in 1912. The history of this movement contains much good proof that unregenerate hearts may masquerade in the guise of religion, which should cause Christian men to reflect upon the peril of Christianity when it becomes political in its type and methods.[6]

Within the period comprised by the nineteenth and by the early part of the twentieth centuries Catholic lay brotherhoods were formed for the purposes of religion and philanthropy, and they obtained far greater freedom and power than were possessed by their predecessors in any age. By far the greatest of these lay associations was originated in 1833, the Society of St. Vincent de Paul, branches of which were established in almost all parts of the world. The founder was Frederic Oznaman, who with six students of the Sorbonne began a charitable work which originated in the pity of the leader for the poverty and suffering which he saw about him in Paris.[7] Greatly moved, "he called together a group of friends, who at their first meeting determined that their work should be the service of God in the persons of the poor, whom they were to visit at their own dwellings and assist by every means in their power."[8] Another motive which entered into the found-

[6] See Lecky, "History of England," in loc.

[7] A sketch of the career of Oznaman, in the magazine known as "The Month," January, 1873, represents its subject as exclaiming, "I dislike Paris because there is no life in it, no faith, no love; it is like a huge corpse to which I am attached while still young and full of life—its coldness freezes me, and its corruption is killing me." "The Biography of Frederick Oznaman," K. O'Meara, was published in Edinburgh.

[8] "The Congregationalist and Christian at Work," in 1908 published an appreciation of this work containing this sentence, and saying, "Out of that little meeting grew a great society with thousands of laymen enlisted in this most Christian work."

ing of this society was to give answer to a taunt of the Saint Simonians that Catholicism was dead, that the young men who advocated Roman Catholic doctrines were talkers only, and not workers. Oznaman was resolved that his organization should occupy itself "not with discussions, but with good works." "They would make their own religion truer and purer, while they confuted their adversaries, by the devotion of themselves to the poor."[9] This service was at once undertaken, and after a time, in addition to direct personal aid, nurseries, libraries, orphanages, schools, and employment bureaus were established and maintained. The instruction of poor children and the distribution of moral and religious books were undertaken. Summer country homes were secured for city children of the working classes. Jails and almshouses were visited. Boys' clubs were inaugurated in various cities, and homes for the homeless were obtained.

The Society of St. Vincent de Paul grew from the original eight members until in 1905 it was estimated to have throughout the world six thousand conferences, with two hundred thousand members, half of whom were honorary. In each city in which the society is represented individual conferences are usually combined to form a particular conference, and the conferences of a large locality or country federate to form a central or superior council, all superior councils being represented in the council-general in Paris. Auxiliary societies of women assist in the regular work of the Society of Saint Vincent de Paul, which is thought by many Protestants to correspond quite closely with their own brotherhoods.[10]

[9] "The Society of St. Vincent de Paul," article in Dublin Review, April, 1883.

[10] "Methodist Men," June, 1911. "The work in which it is engaged is in many respects identical with that of the Protestant men's movements."

The origin of the Ancient Order of Hibernians in Ireland is shrouded in obscurity, but a date as early as 1562 is sometimes claimed, and the prince Rory O'Moore is the reputed founder. Hibernianism is doubtless as old as the sixteenth century, and arose out of conflicts with the Orangemen and other Protestant societies, and in support of the civil and religious demands of Catholicism. However, the society now known as the Ancient Order probably dates from about 1836, the time of its institution in America. The professed purpose of the society is "to promote Friendship, Unity, and Christian Charity among its members by raising or supporting a fund of money for maintaining the aged, sick, blind, and infirm members, for the payment of funeral benefits, for the advancement of the principles of Irish nationality, for the legitimate expenses of the order, and for no other purpose whatever."[11] Members are exclusively of "practical" Catholics. All matters connected with morality or religion must be submitted to the chaplain, who is appointed by the ordinary of the diocese. The membership in 1908 was put at 127,254, located in Canada, in the United States, and in Hawaii. The order has established a chair of Gaelic in the Catholic University of America at Washington, and it influenced the government to appropriate $50,000 for a monument to Commodore John Barry, "Father of the American Navy."

About the time of the origin of the society which has just been represented, the Roman Catholic Church entered upon total abstinence work through the labors of a very remarkable man, Rev. Theobald Mathew, a Capuchin known as Father Mathew.[12] This priest of Cork, Ireland, in 1838 began a temperance movement

[11] Action of Indianapolis Convention, 1908.

[12] See "Father Mathew," J. F. Maguire, M. P., and among others the lives by Mathew, Thomas, and Tynan.

which in the space of five months is said to have resulted in the administration of the total abstinence pledge to one hundred and fifty thousand persons in Cork alone. In two days in Galway one hundred thousand are reported to have been pledged. The work of Father Mathew, which assumed for a time such proportions as were never witnessed in any other instance of temperance effort, was done at personal sacrifice, since the family of the originator of this movement owned a huge distillery, from the proceeds of which he had been accustomed to receive large dividends each year. "The crusade of which he was the head caused such a falling off in the drinking of the working classes that the distillery had to close."[18]

Father Mathew was incited to his greatest life-work by the sight of the gross drunkenness of Ireland, and especially in Cork, where he had labored for twenty-four years before beginning his temperance movement. He was also lured into it by the appeals made to him by a good Quaker, William Martin. This man and two associates, Nicholas Dunscombe, a Protestant clergyman, and Richard Dowden, were almost fanatical opponents of intemperance, as well they might have been, for the ravages it was making in Ireland. William Martin would follow Father Mathew about, especially in his visits to the workhouse, and, pointing to the most wretched victims of strong drink, he would say: "Oh, Theobald Mathew, if *thou* would but take the case in hand!" At last, after much deliberation, one evening in April, Father Mathew sent for Martin and requested him to assist in forming a temperance organization, which he gladly essayed to do. The first meeting of the Cork Total Abstinence Society was held by Father Mathew in his own schoolhouse, April 10, 1838. The founder presided, and after a brief address exclaimed,

[18] Quoted from an account in the Pittsburgh Dispatch.

"Here goes in the Name of God!" and entered his name in a large book lying on the table as one who would henceforth abstain from the use of liquor. Some sixty followed his example at the time, and meetings for the purpose of signing the pledge began to be held twice a week. The schoolhouse soon had to be abandoned, and a horse bazaar, holding four thousand persons, was secured and was crowded. Then the zealous advocate of temperance went forth to other places, scoring a great triumph at Limerick, where in four days the pledge was given to 150,000 persons; at Waterford, where 80,000 signed in three days; in Dublin, where 70,000 recruits were secured; at Kells, where 100,000 signatures were taken in two and a half days. In Maynooth College, Father Mathew's alma mater, eight professors and 250 students joined 36,000 adherents obtained from the neighborhood. The falling off in the consumption of liquors in Ireland, due to Father Mathew's movement, caused in the year 1840 a loss in revenues to the government of £500,000.[14] "I have now, with the Divine assistance," wrote Father Mathew in 1843 to an American friend, "hoisted the banner of temperance in almost every parish in Ireland."

This Apostle of Temperance fought other vices also, and so well preached virtue that crime and vice retreated before him. He visited Scotland, and in July, 1843, England, where in three months the pledge is said to have been given to six hundred thousand. In all this work Father Mathew spent lavishly, and, though pensioned by the queen, he never recovered from the burden of debt into which he had plunged himself, and because of which, in 1847, he spent a short time in prison. In 1849-51 he went to America, where the same wonderful scenes attended his labors which had taken

[14] "Cyclopedia of Temperance and Prohibition," Funk & Wagnalls, "Mathew, Theobald."

place in Great Britain. In the United States, President Taylor banqueted Father Mathew at the White House. The United States Senate voted to admit him to the bar of the Senate, an honor previously paid to one other foreigner only, Lafayette. On this occasion Henry Clay eulogized the work done by this ardent spirit. In Philadelphia he was received in Independence Hall; in New York the City Council welcomed him in a body, and William E. Dodge delivered a notable address; in Boston, Governor Briggs attended a reception in his respect. In America it is said that five hundred thousand disciples of total abstinence were made by Father Mathew, and his good work continued after he returned home. In all it is estimated that seven million persons received the pledge from him. What a man was this—Irish, and a good fighter! He "started something," and he broke many an evil head. A big-hearted lover of his kind, he had the impetuous spirit and the eloquent tongue of his race. His dust reposes beneath the cross in "Father Mathew's Cemetery," Queenstown, but his soul will leap with joyous triumph when at last the rumshop is cast into the lake of fire.

The Father Mathew Total Abstinence Societies languished after a time, but were revived in various places, and they attest the memory of their zealous founder.[15] The memory of Theobald Mathew led the archbishops and bishops of Ireland in 1905 to request the Capuchin Fathers to undertake a temperance crusade, and from the same inspiring source came the Young Irish Crusaders, founded in January, 1909, and within less than

[15] Ibid. As all the world knows, the fickle Irish were not permanently converted to abstinence, but that was not the fault of Father Mathew. Two years before the death of this good man, he wrote to a friend: "The principle of prohibition seems to me the only safe and certain remedy for the evils of intemperance. This opinion has been strengthened by the hard labor of more than twenty years in the temperance cause. I rejoice in the welcome intelligence of the formation of a Maine Law Alliance, which I trust will be the means, under God, of destroying the fruitful source of crime and pauperism."

two years claiming one hundred thousand members. A Priests' Total Abstinence League is noted in the list of Roman Catholic societies of America.[16] In 1872 a confederation was formed of all total abstinence societies of American Catholics, and which became known as the Catholic Total Abstinence Union of America. This federation was organized on a strictly religious basis. In 1902 the union claimed eighty thousand members. In 1873 Cardinal Manning formed in London a Catholic total abstinence confraternity known as the League of the Cross, branches of which were formed in Ireland and in Australia. No time limit was on the pledge taken, and the members were required to be good practical Catholics.[17]

The Knights of Father Mathew, a later branch of the Catholic Total Abstinence Union, entered upon its existence in 1881. "The object of the order," said its prospectus, "shall be: First, to unite fraternally practical male Catholics; to give all possible moral and material aid to its members and those dependent on them by holding moral, instructive, and scientific lectures; by assisting its members to obtain employment; by encouraging them in the pursuit of their profession, trade, or occupation; and to provide means, from the proceeds of assessments upon its members, wherewith to assist its sick and disabled members, and for the relief and aid of the families, widows, and orphans, or other beneficiaries of its deceased members. Second, to encourage all persons, by advice and example, to abstain from all intoxicating drinks and to cement the bonds of charity and union that should exist among all Catholics."

The work of this society began in Missouri and extended elsewhere. Its age limit was fixed at fifty. In-

[16] See "Official Catholic Directory," United States and Canada edition.

[17] "Catholic Directory," London, 1910.

surance features not found in the Union were adopted, benefits varying from $100 to $2,000. Violation of the abstinence pledge was made to nullify the insurance policy, and the member who was guilty of such violation was required to take a new medical examination and to pay a fine. Strict rules limited the numbers but raised the quality of the membership. The local councils took up social and educational features as they desired, and the spiritual oversight was entrusted to a director, appointed from the clergy. Each local council required its members once a year to attend communion.[18]

The list of benevolent associations in the Roman Catholic Churches of America established during the last half of the nineteenth century contains several names which represent large and flourishing bodies. The Catholic Mutual Benefit Association was founded in 1876, and in 1912 it reported a membership of over sixty thousand, and disbursements of a million and a half dollars. The Catholic Knights of America began work in 1877, being established at the suggestion of the then Bishop of Nashville for the purpose of affording to Roman Catholic men the same advantages as were offered brothers in fraternal organizations outside their Church. The statement of the object of this society was thus made: "To promote friendship, unity, and true Christian charity among its members; friendship, in assisting each other by every honorable means; unity, in associating together for mutual support of one another when sick or in distress, and in making suitable provision for widows, orphans, and dependents of deceased members; true Christian charity, in doing unto each other as we would have others do unto us." The Knights admitted women to the benefits and claimed

[18] In "The Church and Young Men," Cressy, pp. 224-226, a member was quoted as saying of losses through violation of the pledge, "With the branch of the Knights of Father Mathew that I am interested in the loss is only about five per cent."

in 1906 twenty-five thousand members.[19] The membership was limited to Catholics "in good standing," and a uniform rank was established.

In 1879 members of the Society of St. Vincent de Paul of Boston desired to form a Catholic fraternal insurance society, and, organizing a body of this kind on the plan of the Foresters' courts, they called it the Massachusetts Catholic Order of Foresters. In 1883 Catholics of Chicago, Ill., organized the Catholic Order of Foresters of Illinois. Although the Catholic Order of Foresters was established as a lay organization, it is indirectly controlled by ecclesiastical influences and the rules of the order are strictly conformed to Catholic discipline. A flat all-around death assessment of one dollar was adopted and men of all ages were taken at the same rate. Later a system of graded assessments was adopted, and age limits on entrance were fixed at eighteen to forty-five years. The two orders of Catholic Foresters did not affiliate. The former reported 27,757 members in 1909, and the latter, having dropped from its title the word Illinois, and having widely extended in the United States and in Canada, reported 136,212 members.

The Catholic Benevolent Legion, another of the insurance societies of the Roman Catholic Church, was organized in Brooklyn in September, 1881, and the objects stated included social, benevolent, and intellectual improvement. Catholic men between the ages of eighteen and fifty-five were made eligible to admission. Life insurance, not to exceed $5,000, was furnished on assessment rates proportioned to the age of members. The membership stated for 1911 was 16,402, and nearly a million dollars had been paid in benefits during the preceding year. The councils were located in the States

[19] "The World Almanac," for 1912 allowed only 19,000. The "Catholic Encyclopedia" says 20,000 in 1907.

of New York, New Jersey, Maryland, Indiana, Illinois, and Connecticut.

The Knights of Columbus quickly became the largest of the Roman fraternal and benefit societies. Founded in New Haven, Conn., February, 1882, it was incorporated under the laws of that Commonwealth. Most of the organizers were laymen, and they took for their purposes the development of practical Catholicity among the members, the promotion of Catholic education and charity, and to furnish through an insurance department at least temporary financial aid to the families of deceased members. The first council was San Salvador, No. 1, New Haven. The society did not extend beyond Connecticut until 1885, when a council was established in Westerley, R. I. At that time a Supreme Council was determined upon, and general extension began, and continued until all the States of the Federal Union were entered, and also every province of Canada, and Newfoundland, the Philippines, Mexico, Cuba, and Panama. Later plans took in extensions in Porto Rico and South America.

March 1, 1910, the Knights of Columbus reported 74,909 insurance and 160,703 associate members, the latter of which classes of membership, first admitted in 1893, was for men of advanced years or unable to pass a physical examination or not desirous of the insurance benefits. Insurance policies were issued for from one to three thousand dollars to desirable risks between eighteen and sixty years of age, the rates increasing every five years until the age of sixty, when a level premium based on age at initiation was required. At the date above given, the society, in its twenty-eight years of history, had paid out to beneficiaries nearly four and a half millions.

The Knights of Columbus engaged in educational and charitable undertakings. They provided homes for

Catholic orphans, endowed scholarships in Catholic colleges, and beds in hospitals, provided lectures on Catholic doctrine, conducted employment bureaus, assisted the sick to enter sanatoria, and in general performed "the work of the apostolate of the laity." In 1904 the order gave to the Catholic University at Washington $50,000 for a chair of American history. Lectures to non-Catholics have, it is said, been largely attended, and this propaganda declares itself to be "a movement which does not aim at attacking any man's belief, but at building up charity among men and, in the words of Bishop Keane, 'bringing us all closer to God Almighty.'" In several cities the Knights have either established Catholic libraries or catalogued the Catholic books in the public libraries. "Columbus Day," October 12th, was instituted largely by the efforts of the Knights of Columbus, who strove to make it a National holiday. It is easy to see that this order, with its varied range of activities, with its imposing membership, and with its financial strength, brought no slight degree of power to the Church in which it was born.

Aside from the distinguished general societies recorded, it should be mentioned that during the same period covered by their origination individual Catholic Churches often founded local fraternities securing mutual benefits to the members, as for example the St. Joseph's Benevolent Society of St. Joseph's Church, Portland. Sodalities and young men's institutes were originated in many parishes, and devoted themselves to literary, social, and philanthropic enterprises. Catholic clubs also characterized the religious life of many cities. That of New York City dated from 1863 and organized its beginnings from the Xavier Alumni Sodality. This club acquired headquarters on Central Park, the site having cost $115,000, and the building, opened in 1892, $225,000. The membership last reported was one thou-

sand. A library was established and grew to over thirty-five thousand volumes. Lectures were frequently given, and the study of Catholic history, science, and art, as well as the promotion of Catholic interests in general was undertaken.

The Young Men's Institute was established as in some respects a counterpart of the Young Men's Christian Association. "Mutual aid and benevolence, the moral, social, and intellectual improvement of its members, and the proper development of sentiments of devotion to the Catholic Church and loyalty to our country, in accordance with its motto: *Pro Deo, Pro Patria,*" were among the undertakings assumed. The term "practical Catholic," used in the membership qualifications of the various lay associations of the Roman Church was thus defined: "It is a term used to designate a communicant who believes all the tenets of the Church and complies with what are commonly known as its six precepts, namely: (1) To attend mass on Sunday and holy days of obligation. (2) To abstain from meat on Fridays and all fast days prescribed by the Church. (3) To receive holy communion during the Easter time. (4) To go to confession once a year, and during the Easter time. (5) To contribute to the support of the pastor. (6) Not to be married within the forbidden times, that is during Lent and Advent, or within forbidden degrees of kindred."[20]

"The Sodality" is a name for societies of many kinds and of various classes of members; as married men, married women, young men, young women, boys, and girls. This type of organization was intended to be more distinctly spiritual than were most of the societies of Catholic laymen. Members were expected to attend communion once a month, and were placed under the special religious culture of a priest. Each

[20] Cressy, op. cit., p. 224.

sodality was independent of others. Sodality houses with institutional features were erected in some parishes. Another Catholic society, popular particularly in workingmen's districts, was called the lyceum. Three requirements were laid down for members. The man must be a good Catholic, must be of good moral character, and must have some desire to improve himself. In the largest cities in which they were established thousands of men were drawn into the lyceums, especially when they were located in a spacious and well-appointed building.

In this survey of modern lay activities in the Roman Church the Holy Name societies, whose early origin and history have been presented, must not be forgotten. Nor should the Society of the Angelic Warfare be ignored, an organization for priests and seminarians, and likewise for young men and boys in Catholic colleges and universities. The basis of this society is the miracle of the girding of St. Thomas Aquinas by angels during a temptation against purity.[21] The International Truth Society, incorporated in 1900, answers inquiries about Catholic doctrine, refutes misstatements and calumnies, promotes the interests of Catholic affairs through the medium of the press, stimulates in the laity a desire for higher education, seeks to increase the circulation of Catholic literature, and engages upon other educational missionary work. Like the other general societies of the Church, this organization is in the hands of ecclesiastics, but uses laymen to effect its purposes.

The different societies of Catholic laymen are leagued together in strong federations. The Catholic Young Men's National Union, formed in 1875, brought into connection with each other the diocesan unions of young men among Roman Catholics in the United States. This union was formally approved by the Third Plenary

[21] "Catholic Directory," p. 784.

Council of Baltimore in 1878, and in 1906 it reported fifty thousand members. Its work was to consolidate and to give constitutions to diocesan unions, to establish libraries, reading-rooms, and night schools, to provide soldiers and sailors with reading matter.

The most significant movement of Catholic laymen took place in 1901, when the American Federation of Catholic Societies was formed, later joined, in 1910, on the suggestion of delegate-apostolic Falconio, by the Knights of Columbus, and comprising in 1911 twenty-one National organizations and many State and county federations and parishes. Three million members of both sexes were then claimed.[22] The objects chosen were to cement the bonds of fraternal union among the Catholic laymen, and to foster and promote Catholic interests. A specific platform, adopted in 1907, made the following statements concerning the federation: "It aims at the creation of sound public opinion on all important topics of the day; it stands for the Christian life of the nation itself; for the proper observance of Sunday; for the Christian education of youth; for the sanctity and perpetuity of Christian marriage; for the safeguarding of the Christian home. It asserts the necessity of Christian principles in social and public life, in the State, in business, in all financial and industrial relations. It is willing to co-operate with all loyal citizens and with all civil and social energies which work for truth and virtue. The aims of the federation are religious and patriotic; they are the interests of all American citizens, and especially of those who believe in a Divine Law-giver and in the revelation of a divine religion through Christ our Savior."[23] The report has been made that this federation determined from its foundation to secure the election of more Roman Cath-

[22] See "World Almanac" for latest reported growth.

[23] Reported in Congregationalist.

olics to public office, and to obtain State support for parochial schools. The practical wisdom and strength of such a union of forces are unquestionable, and the outcome of this movement was a new access of zeal and of courage to attempt great matters. It is said that in 1908 the pope declared, "What the Church needs to-day more than anything else is more laymen."[24] The federation is seeking to supply this demand as did individual fraternities long before the union, and to do so more effectively.

A later and significant development of the Roman men's movement was the organization and incorporation as a branch of the American Federation of the Militia of Christ for Social Service. The officers and members of this society were largely recruits from the ranks of the labor unions. The bulletin of the Federated Catholic Societies thus announced this undertaking: "In brief, the object of 'The Militia of Christ for Social Service' is the defense of the Christian order of society and its progressive development. The Militia of Christ will rest upon the ethical, sociological, economic, and political doctrine of Christian philosophy as developed in the course of history—the legacy of Tradition as voiced in modern times in the letters of Leo XIII and Pius X. The propaganda will be carried on by means of syndicated letters to the Catholic and labor press, by social lectures and conferences, by the advocacy of Christian principles in trade unions, an intelligent and active interest in labor legislation, the problems of civil service and general administration, industrial education. Membership is limited to practical Catholics who accept the principles of trade unionism and contribute one dollar per year."

The modern lay revival among Romanists is unpar-

[24] See "Methodist Men," June, 1911.

alleled in their history or in any movement of the kind of like magnitude in Church life. If one seeks to know the causes of recent Catholic growth and power in the United States, one of the most influential of these will be found to be the freedom of initiative allowed by Romanism in the organization of lay orders, and in the stirring competitions which exist between its varied societies. Protestant Churches usually repress individual genius and devotion into established forms, and being afraid of internal strife, they are inclined to eliminate even the wholesome rivalry which expresses and developes life. This policy should be changed, and they should also relate together their various organizations in a close and loyal union established upon principles parallel to those of the American Federation of Catholic Societies. The socialistic and radical press from the first saw in this movement a menace to political liberty and a revival of mediævalism. The Protestant Churches, however, see in Roman lay activity a work to be emulated, and in which the newer brotherhoods already begin to assume strength. They look forward to the day when all Christian men shall be vitally allied to the interests of Christ's Kingdom, and when their organizations in the two great branches of Christendom, Protestant and Catholic, strongly contending for pre-eminence in good work, shall be one in contesting against the machinations of evil, and in seeking to cast down the strongholds of Satan.

XIII

EARLY PROTESTANT BROTHERHOODS

FROM THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY TO THE NINETEENTH.

It has been seen that the Reformation drove religious orders out of the countries dominated by the Protestant spirit. An iconoclasm which spared little of the old forms of organization not only destroyed monastic establishments in Northern Europe, but for some time prevented the re-establishment of vigorous religious societies of men. Of course in the Catholic States the stronger mediæval societies were retained, and new organizations with modified and specialized functions arose to defend the ancient Church and to promote its interests. These societies have already been considered.

In the sense designated by the knightly orders the Protestant Church has had no military-religious brotherhoods. Some mention should, however, be made of the Schmalkaldic League and the Protestant Union, inasmuch as these organizations were composed of men devoted to religious causes.

At the close of 1530 the Protestant princes of Germany, influenced by fear of the aggressive measures being taken against them by the papal commander, Emperor Charles V, assembled at Schmalkalden, or Smalcald, District of Cassel, Prussia, and formed an association called the Schmalkaldic League, which eventually covered the whole of Northern Germany, Saxony, Württemberg, and Denmark, with parts of Bavaria and Switzerland.[1] The object of this confederacy of princes

[1] "The Age of the Reformation," Martin Philippson, Ph. D., Vol. XI. "History of All Nations," p. 119 ff.

was the defense of the political and religious freedom of Protestants. The league was to last for six years, but in 1535 it was renewed for ten years more, and it was decided to raise a permanent army. From political motives Francis I of France now joined the league, and Henry VIII of England declared himself its protector. In 1537 a group of theologians met at Schmalkalden, and under the auspices of the league, part of its statements being drawn by Luther himself, they prepared the Articles of Schmalkalden, designed to represent Protestant views at the proposed Council of Mantua, which the pope had announced, but which he never held. These articles conformed fully to the Augsburg Confession, and the Lutheran Church adopted them with its symbolical books.

During its latter years the league was torn with jealousies, and while it achieved victories in the Schmalkaldic War, it was finally routed at Mühlberg, April 24, 1547, and John Frederick, Elector of Saxony, was captured. The objects of this Protestant brotherhood in arms were, however, later achieved by Duke Maurice, who as elector in 1552 declared war against the emperor and forced from him the Treaty of Passan, securing for Protestants the boon of religious liberty.

In the early years of the seventeenth century the condition of religious affairs in Northern Europe again seemed to them to demand an alliance of princes of Protestant faith to oppose the movements of the Catholic League.[2] Encouraged by the success of the Schmalkaldic League three-fourths of a century before, Christian of Anhalt with a few other princes, afterwards joined in self-defense by many more, formed the Protestant Union, which had so large a part in the successes and in the defeats of the Thirty Years' War. Several of the mem-

[2] "The Religious Wars," Martin Philippson, Ph. D., Vol. XII, "History of All Nations," pp. 76, 77.

bers of this union were of uncertain loyalty, and even the advent of that splendid leader, Gustavus Adolphus, failed to bring all of them into unequivocal allegiance to the Protestant cause.[8] As a result of this the Peace of Westphalia, which concluded the long period of confused warring by which German population was reduced to a third of its former strength, and many towns and cities were annihilated, was a compromise far less favorable to Protestant interests than might otherwise have been the case. Without doubt, however, much of the sturdy character of modern German evangelicals has been influenced by the toils and strifes through which their faith was won.

The Irish secret political society known as the Orangemen is composed exclusively of Protestants and is named in honor of William III, Prince of Orange. This wealthy and influential society succeeded the uncouth "Peep-of-Day Boys" who contested with the Romanist societies known as Defenders, or Ribbonmen. The first Orange lodge was organized in Loughgall, County Armagh, September 21, 1795, and such was the strife between Orangemen and Ribbonmen that the law was powerless. Riots were continuous, and punishment could not be meted out, since witnesses were intimidated and juries sometimes refused to convict persons of their own order. In 1808 Orangeism entered England, and in time it extended to all British colonies and to the United States. The British army became a center for this strife. In 1834 it was found by Parliament that thirty-four regiments had Orange lodges, and in the following year the Duke of Cumberland, afterward King of Hanover, its imperial grand master, was compelled to dissolve the

[8] The Gustavus Adolphus Union (Evangelischer Verein der Gustav-Adolf-Stiftung) is a general society of two centuries later, whose objects have been to oppose Catholicism and to broaden Protestantism, especially in the recognition of its vital interests. See Zimmerman's "Geschichte des Gustav-Adolf-Vereins."

order in Ireland. It was reviewed in 1845, however, and renewed its political activities. At the present time the lodges have many thousands of members. Great Orange demonstrations take place annually, on July 12th; the anniversary of the battles of Aghrim and of the Boyne, and the troubles caused by the antagonisms between these men and their Catholic rivals have been treated elsewhere. It should be stated that the best leaders of both Churches, Protestant and Catholic, have denounced the unseemly sectarianism and bitterness of both Defenders and Orangemen.[4]

Coming now to the subject of Protestant Brotherhoods for distinctively religious purposes, it will be well to begin with a double quotation. The early historian of a great religious institution penned the following passage: "Mr. Pattison in his deeply interesting work, 'The Rise and Progress of Religious Life in England,' says: 'Similarity of religious action in all times may be discerned in the first formation of Young Men's Christian Associations. In 1632 a number of London apprentices, having no other opportunity for religious conversation save the Lord's day, united together to meet at five o'clock on Sunday mornings for an hour's prayer and religious conversation, and at six o'clock attended the morning lecture at Cornhill or Christ Church.' In the 'Life of Dr. William Harris' we find mention of a similar association meeting once a week 'for prayer, reading, and religious conversation; for the mutual communication of knowledge; and with a view of strengthening each other against the solicitations of evil company.' He quotes for these facts 'Wilson's History of Dissenting Churches.' "[5]

[4] Vide "Orangeism; Its Origin, Constitution, and Objects," Lilburn.

[5] E. W. Shipton, "The History of the Young Men's Christian Association of London," Exeter Hall Lectures, Vol. for 1845, X. See "Hist. and Antiq. of Dissenting Churches," etc., Walter Wilson, Vol. I, p. 65.

Other societies such as the foregoing were in quiet operation in various cities during a large part of the seventeenth century. Small and scattered, they nevertheless exerted a very considerable influence for good. In the latter part of the century, simultaneously, on both sides of the Atlantic, what may be more exactly termed Protestant Church brotherhoods sprang up and grew into a very considerable importance. These societies are closely related to the names of Cotton Mather in America and Anthony Horneck in England.

Dr. Cotton Mather, in his autobiography, describing his religious experiences in early life, states that about 1677, when he was fifteen years of age, he was associated with a group of young men gathered for Christian counsel and improvement. "One singular advantage to me while I was thus a lad," he says, "was my acquaintance with and relation to a society of young men in our town who met every evening, after ye Lord's day, for ye services of religion. There we constantly prayed, and sang a psalm, taking our turns in such devotions. We then had a devout question, proposed a week before, whereto any one present gave what answer he pleased, and I still concluded the answer. As ye Lord made poor me to be a little useful unto these and other meetings of young people in my youth, so He made these meetings very useful unto me. Their love to me, their prayers for me, and my probationary essays among them had a more than ordinary influence upon my after improvements."[6]

Those who are familiar with English history will recall the fact that the latter part of the reign of

[6] His son, Samuel Mather, says, "Unto these meetings he ascribed his first rise and improvement in the art of speaking, of praying, etc." Barrett Wendell, in "Cotton Mather, the Puritan Priest," p. 37, quotes his subject as saying that he "had great benefit from a society of young men," etc., and states that in early life he was afflicted with an impediment in his speech.

Charles II was a season of extreme dissoluteness.[7] Vice and folly were in high carnival in the various strata of society, in each after its own order. It was not a time when religious earnestness would be looked for. Nevertheless at this period of widespread and malignant evil a new tendency of young men to associate themselves together for Christian culture and service is to be noted. In 1678, as nearly as may be estimated, a year later than the time when the boy Mather attended a similar meeting in New England, a number of young men of the Church of England, living in London and vicinity, "were awakened to serious concern for the soul's interest." Some of these men had fallen under the temptations of their age, but others were of sturdier character and were living in obedience to the highest principles of morality. That all of these men became aroused to a sense of spiritual needs and duties was due to the sermons of Dr. Anthony Horneck of Westminster, and of the Sunday morning speaker at Cornhill, Mr. Smithies. Another city clergyman, Mr. Beveridge, had also some part in this matter, and the young men who became concerned about the condition of themselves and of their associates appealed to these ministers, and especially to Dr. Horneck, for counsel and Christian direction. Meeting each other on these errands, a fellowship sprang up which soon resulted in the practice of coming together weekly, and rules for their association and exercises were soon adopted. The original design was "mutual assistance and consolation in their Christian warfare,"[8] but soon concern for others arose, and special attention was given to the careless and unawak-

[7] See account in chapter on "Religion" and elsewhere in "London in the Time of the Stuarts," Walter Besant.

[8] For a general account of these societies see E. W. Shipton's op. cit., x-xix. Richard Watson, "Life of Wesley," p. 64, nota, "By their rules they were obliged to discourse only on such subjects as tended to practical holiness . . . to promote schools, and the catechising of young and ignorant persons in their respective families."

ened of their acquaintance, this form of service being signally blessed, and resulting in accessions to the societies.[9]

A writer in *St. Andrew's Cross* describes doubtless the earlier period in the history of the Horneck societies. "Anthony Horneck had gained great influence as a preacher at the Savoy. It was no easy matter to get through the crowd to the church, and strangers were astonished at the number of communicants. Few men, we are told, were so frequently applied to in difficulties and cases of conscience. His societies were composed of young men who had been confirmed, and had resolved upon a holy and serious life. Apprentices were not admitted, and no member was to be received without the consent of the directing minister. They met on a stated day, once a week; a fine of three pence being imposed for absence without cause. The Church prayers were read; a Psalm might be sung; religious discourse was optional, controversy was strictly forbidden; the practical divinity was to be chosen by the clergyman. Each member paid six pence every time to the alms-box, and on Whit Tuesday a steward was appointed, and the money distributed among the poor. Such as left the society were required to pay a fine of five shillings. The rule of life is commended to all members, calls upon them to love one another; to speak evil of no man; to wrong no man; to pray, if possible, seven times a day; to keep close to the Church of England; to be peaceable and helpful; to examine themselves at night; to give all their due; to obey their spiritual superiors.

"They were called upon to communicate regularly, and were recommended to admonish and watch over one another, and to fortify each other against those temptations which assaulted them from the world, and their

[9] A considerable account of these societies was published by Rev. Josiah Woodward, of Poplar, in 1698.

corruption, and these persons, knowing each others' manners of life, and their peculiar frailties and temptations, partly by their familiar conversation and partly from their own inward experience, can much better inspect, admonish, and guard each other than the most faithful minister usually can."[10]

The charities of the Horneck societies extended to many poor families, to prisoners, to students at the universities, to orphans, to libraries erected at the "foreign plantations" of England. Two stewards, elected annually, were the officers of these simply organized societies, and these men usually presided and bore the alms of members to afflicted persons.

Woodward's account preserves several quaint records of the good works of these Christian brothers. "I was present," he says in the course of these histories, "at one of their conferences, when a very poor man came, with most earnest affection, to return them thanks for what they had done both for his body and soul. It seems he was a perfect stranger to them all, and to every other person in the place, where God cast him down by a sharp and long sickness, in which (as he said) his soul and body like to have perished together. He had lived a very ill life, and been much disused to the ordinances of God, by reason of his sea-faring life; and being now come on shore sick, and being above a hundred miles from his abode and acquaintance, he fell into great want. Upon which some of this society, perceiving his distress, recommended him to the rest; and they readily allowed him a weekly pension for eight weeks together, till he was recovered. And one of the society being a chirurgeon, carefully dressed a very grievous sore which he had, and by God's blessing re-

[10] This account is taken from Abbot's "History of the Church of England in the Eighteenth Century." See "History of the Church of England," Rev. Thomas Debarry, M. A., p. 282. Also Wakeman, ibid, p. 419.

stored it to perfect soundness. Others of them went to him and read good books by his bed, which tended to the improvement of God's visitation upon him; they also fetched the minister of the place to him, who visited him often, and prayed by him, and got a collection from some charitable neighbors for him. And upon the whole he recovered" (well he might, one would think), "and seemed to be a reformed man, and came there to render his praises to God, and thanks to his Christian friends, for that which had been done for him."[11]

Such success attended the work of these societies that before long forty-two of them existed in London and Westminster, and many others were established in various parts of England and Ireland. So general was the interest excited by them that Woodward's work on the "London Societies" passed into six editions within a very few years. The societies were not without persecution, being attacked by certain persons "as things leading to schism, spiritual pride, and many other ill consequences." However, the young men vindicated themselves both by their able apology before the Bishop of London and by their excellent conscience and good works.[12] During the reign of James great caution was necessary. The society for prudential reasons became a club, and home meetings were surrendered for convocations at a place whose use would be less dangerous to friends of Protestants. Speaking of the general effect of these organizations, Shipton says, "They had the good effect of binding pious members of the Church of England together, and enabling them to realize that feeling of brotherhood which the Christian heart loves to give play to."[13] This statement is based on Wood-

[11] Not. sup., p. 211.

[12] "Organizations of young men, devout and given to good works, in the seventeenth century were recognized with approval by Bishop Beveridge as well as by Bishop Ken, by Stillingfleet, as well as Tenison" Bishop of Ripon, article "Brotherhoods," Contemporary Review, 1890.

[13] Op. cit., xix.

ward's contemporary testimony: "There is such love amongst those of them that have fallen under my observation, that scarce any natural brothers are so vigorously affectionate. I have often beheld their meeting and parting embraces with admiration; and those who are newly admitted are soon contracted into the same fellowship of Christian brotherhood."

Chronological order leads us now to turn again to America, and to note that in 1683 a society of young men was formed in Boston for "ye prevention of ye mischief arising from vain company, and as a nursery to the Church there."[14] In 1694 Cotton Mather published "a copy of the orders agreed, used, and signed" by a similar society holding meetings in his neighborhood.[15] Membership was confined to persons "willing with full purpose of heart to cleave" to Christ. Each Sunday two evening hours were to be devoted to religious exercises with occasional consultations concerning "some question of practical Christianity." Members were to be "charitably watchful over one another," but those who fell into "any scandalous iniquity" were to be suspended, and were not to be taken back without repentance. Fortnightly an entire evening was used in prayer "for the conversion and salvation of the rising generation of our land."

The societies called sometimes the Cotton Mather Societies, because of his active relation to them and his propagation thereof,[16] continued to increase in number, and in their quiet way they became effective instruments of Christian influence. In his book published in 1710

[14] "Fifty Years' Work Among Young Men in All Lands," Ch. Fermand, Ed., p. 113.

[15] "Early Religion," Dr. C. Mather, Boston, 1694.

[16] Cotton Mather was a great administrator. A biographer says: "He believed in organizing the work of the Lord; throughout his life he was getting together prayer-meetings, and societies for the suppression of disorders; working with the commissioners to convert and civilize the Indians and so on." Wendell, op. cit., p. 187.

the famous Puritan divine says: "These duly managed have been incomparable nurseries to the Churches where faithful pastors have countenanced them. Young men are hereby preserved from very many temptations, rescued from the paths of the destroyer, confirmed in the right ways of the Lord, and prepared mightily for such religious exercises as will be expected from them when they come themselves to be householders."[17] About 1740 the societies were much stimulated by the religious quickening which was produced by the preaching of Jonathan Edwards. At Dorchester, Mass., one of these organizations attained the record for the longest continuous life of a society of men of Protestant faith, one hundred and fifty years, from 1698 to 1848.

Reverting again to the English societies previously considered, it is to be noted that one of the results attained by their work was the formation of many Societies for Reformation of Manners, organizations which social conditions badly needed and for whose inauguration and conduct agents were furnished by the religious societies, whose members also aided in recruiting their ranks. This reformatory movement was instituted by men of mature age, and also of judgment and of piety.[18] A few gentlemen of the Church of England, concerned because of the iniquity of the times, decided to do what they might to suppress it by invoking the authority of the laws. They studied the statutes, drew up abstracts of the enactments opposing profanity and vice, and formulated rules for the legal prosecution and conviction of offenders. From the queen they obtained in 1691

[17] "Bonifacius, or Essays to Do Good," Cotton Mather, Boston, 1710, p. 81, of Burde edition. This book ran through nearly twenty editions in America and abroad. Benjamin Franklin wrote to Samuel Mather, "If I have been as you seem to think, a useful citizen, the public owes the advantage of it to that book." "Memoir of Cotton Mather, D. D., F. R. S.," by Samuel G. Drake, M. A., in Hartford edition, 1855. Mather's "Magnalia Christi Americana."

[18] Shipton, op. cit., xx.

a letter to justices of the peace, directing them to act in accordance with the needs in these cases. Many persons in various parts of London and Westminster were armed with blank warrants, and the religious societies zealously undertook espionage and information. Great opposition was excited and vicious threats were made, but the members held fast, and they were warmly aided by many of the clergy. Swearers, drunkards and Sabbath breakers were arrested and fined, one of these societies spending in a single year £1,000 in the detection and punishment of lewdness. Some twenty societies, distinct from the Church brotherhoods, but chiefly gathered from them, were seeking to reform London, and the work extended to provincial towns and to Ireland, continuing with reverses and successes until well toward the close of the eighteenth century.

The undertakings of these societies were approved by John Wesley. In Sermon 52 of his published discourses he gives a very full statement of their origin, purposes, and achievements, especially after the revival of their work in 1757 under the leadership of Mr. W. Walsh.[19] During the five subsequent years he states the number of persons brought to justice as lawbreakers as 9,596, and during the next year, "for unlawful gaming and profane swearing, 40; for Sabbath breaking, 400; lewd women and keepers of ill houses, 550; for offering to sale obscene prints, 2; in all, 10,588."[20] In Mr. Wesley's *Journal* for November 4, 1764, is a memorandum in which he says, "I proposed to the leaders (of his societies) the assisting the society for the reformation of manners with regard to their heavy debt."[21] A third passage in Mr. Wesley's writings bemoans the ruin of this excellent work by reason of unjust litigation in-

[19] The society to which this sermon was addressed was composed of Churchmen and Dissenters. Exeter Hall Lectures, Vol. I, xxii.

[20] "The Works of the Reverend John Wesley, M. A.," Vol. I, p. 460.

[21] Ibid, Vol. IV, p. 195.

volving great cost.[22] It was a very good work indeed, and one which might profitably be emulated by Christian laymen of this age, who too largely leave all matters of moral protest and of attack upon vice to the clergy, to inert or time-serving authorities, or to underpaid and immature agents of civic and philanthropic organizations.

A new name does not necessarily imply a difference in nature, and though the next class of societies to which our attention is drawn is found to bear the designation "Congregational Fellowship Associations," and in combinations "Fellowship Unions," it is evident that this type of organization does not vary widely in spirit or purposes from some of the foregoing. The origin of Fellowship Associations may be traced back to the revolutionary settlement of 1692,[23] and particularly in Scotland they have come down to modern times in vigor and in usefulness. These societies are literally Church brotherhoods, being represented in a single congregation, except as they federate for common purposes. Meetings are generally held on Sunday mornings, the object being the religious improvement of the members, and their equipment for Christian service by study of the Word of God. From the first the members engaged in devotional exercises, including Scripture reading, with conversation on the portions read. Essays on Biblical subjects and questions about Christian doctrine also engaged the attention of the members. In some cases the Congregational Fellowship Associations became prayer-meetings for persons of both sexes, but these did not long survive. A modern example of a strong Fellowship Union is that of Edinburgh. Formed in 1840 with twelve Congregational Associations and 250 members, in 1890 it celebrated its jubilee with 76 associations and

[22] Ibid, Vol. IV, p. 223.

[23] "Fifty Years' Work Among Young Men," etc., ut supra, p. 175.

2,784 members, nearly half of whom were actively engaged in Christian service as teachers or officers of church societies. This well illustrates the fact that these associations have proved of much value as training-schools for Christian workers.

The earliest account of a Christian brotherhood among college men of Protestant views is that at Harvard University. By the year 1706 some students at this venerable seat of learning had "formed a society, which, laying to heart the too general decay of serious piety in the profession of it, resolved upon essays to speak often unto one another; or carry on some suitable exercises of religion together, wherein they might prove blessings not only unto one another, but unto many more whom they might be concerned for."

A second interesting society of college or academy men was that at Halle, instituted by the precocious young Count Zinzendorf in 1715 or 1716. Under the gracious influence of Francke, who as president stamped his devout pietism upon the minds of many of his pupils, Zinzendorf's natural religious instincts were maturely cultured, and while in his early teens, with other fellow-students,[24] among whom was the celebrated Baron Frederic von Watteville he formed the "Senf'korn Orden," or the Order of the Grain of Mustard Seed, based on Mark 4: 31, 32.[25] The purport of the rules of this order, which are still extant, are "to follow Christ in walk and conversation, to love your neighbor, and strive for the conversion of Jews and heathen." A badge was adopted, consisting of a shield with an *"Ecce Homo"* and the

[24] "Memoir of Count Zinzendorf," Enoch Pond, D. D., p. 14. A. Bost, in "History of the Bohemian and Moravian Brethren," p. 114, says that Zinzendorf "set on foot private meetings for prayer, and so great was his zeal in this work that on leaving Halle, in 1716, he was able to deliver to Professor Francke a list of seven societies of the kind which he had originated since the year 1710."

[25] See account in "Sketches of Moravian Life and Character," James Henry, p. 62.

words, "His wounds our healing." The two young nobles above mentioned and two others, afterward Rev. Mr. Schaefer and Rev. Mr. Rothe, especially pledged each other to a life-long devotion to the Kingdom of God in their own and in other places, and they became modern revivers and virtual founders of the *Unitas Fratrum*, a Church of learning, of piety, and of missionary zeal, better known as the Moravians.[26]

It was twenty years later than the beginning of the Harvard Society that a serious man, whom he had "traveled many miles to see," said to Mr. John Wesley, then fellow of Lincoln College, Oxford: "Sir, you wish to serve God and go to heaven. Remember that you can not serve Him alone. You must therefore find companions or make them; the Bible knows nothing of solitary religion."[27] The impression of these words never left the mind of their hearer. "In November, 1729," says Mr. Wesley, "four young gentlemen of Oxford began to spend some evenings in a week together, in reading chiefly the New Testament."[28] This was the beginning of the Godly Club, whose history is so well known, and out of which grew the Churches and great philanthropies of Methodism. Several members of this club went as missionaries to Georgia, and during their passages through London they came into touch with the religious societies there, of which Woodward was biographer. At

[26] Supra, p. 143. "The Ancient and Modern History of the Brethren," David Cranz, London, 1780, p. 102. Heckethorn, "Secret Societies of All Ages and Countries," Vol. I, p. 375, has a strange passage: "The Moravian Brothers of the Order of Religious Freemasons, or Order of the Mustard-Seed, was another German rite, founded in 1739. Its mysteries were founded on the passage in St. Mark 4, in which Christ compares the Kingdom of heaven to a grain of mustard seed. The brethren recognized each other by a ring inscribed with the words, 'No one of us lives for himself.' The jewel was a cross of gold, surmounted by a mustard-plant, with the words, 'What was it before? Nothing.'" The origin and nature of these statements it is not difficult to trace.

[27] E. W. Shipton, op. cit., xxvii.

[28] "The Life of the Rev. John Wesley," Richard Watson, p. 15. "Wesley's Journal, Works," Vol. V, p. 246.

the Aldersgate society meeting in 1738 it was that Mr. John Wesley had an experience of which he says: "In the evening I went very unwillingly to a society in Aldersgate Street, where one was reading Luther's preface to the Epistle to the Romans. About a quarter before nine, while he was describing the change which God works in the heart through faith in Christ, I felt my heart strangely warmed. I felt I did trust in Christ, Christ alone for my salvation; and an assurance was given me that He had taken away my sins, even mine, and saved me from the law of sin and death."[29] It is to the lasting credit of the little brotherhoods of that day that it could be said of their influence upon John Wesley, "The journals of this good man, and the writings of his contemporaries, will abundantly prove that he found his earliest and best coadjutors amongst the members of the London Young Men's Societies, and that, united in the metropolis, in the works to which they and he had before devoted themselves in their separate spheres—the visitation of gaols, hospitals, and workhouses—they were permitted to gather in the first-fruits of a great harvest, 'a people prepared for the Lord.'"[30]

Before coming to the brotherhoods which open the history of the nineteenth century it is well to recall another name connected with the English religious societies, that of Samuel Walker of Truro, who formed successful organizations of his men, following mainly the rules of Dr. Woodward. It is said of this good man, who passed to his reward in 1761, "We see his mind intent on the development of a humble, meek, and quiet spirit amongst his people." Long after his departure the societies which he established continued their useful labors. Reference should also be made at this point to

[29] "Wesley's Works," Vol. III, p. 74.

[30] Shipton, op. cit., xxviii.

Pastor Meyenrock of Basle. Among the German-speaking peoples Church brotherhoods became a vigorous factor of religious life. In 1768 Mr. Meyenrock united nine men for the continuous study of the Word of God, and the society grew and found imitators, being one of the precursors of the great system of independent but federated Young Men's Christian Associations which in Germany antedated the English organization by several years.[81] Pastor Karl Auguste Döring of Elberfeld was another ardent spirit who sought the good of his men, and who combined them in 1816 into a little society called Christlicher Jünglingsverein, Young Men's Christian Association. No rules or statutes were impressed upon this body, but Pastor Döring was indefatigable in seeking the apprentices and other men in shops and factories, and gathering them into religious fellowship.

A new period of Christian work among men dawned with the life and works of that remarkable man, David Naismith of Glasgow. During the latter part of the eighteenth century the English men's societies were few and somewhat decadent. The Churches were taken up with the wants of a depraved and almost brutalized public. The early Methodists were engrossed with the organization of their forces, and with hasty but valiant assaults on the common enemy of unrighteousness. Even out of this dark period, however, a few names of useful organizations of men are preserved, "The Spitalfields Benevolent Society," "The Widows' Friend So-

[81] The Young Men's Christian Associations in Germany for a long time had no central work like that splendidly housed in other lands. Each church had its separate Association, and each denomination its own Union of Associations, a plan which is still in part operative. In 1894 a writer said: "There exists also in Germany, with its headquarters at Hamburg, a large Union of Young Men's Christian Associations connected entirely with the Baptist Church, and not accepting the Paris basis. This includes 10 groups, 123 Associations, and 2,087 members, and has a monthly organ and an agent who has now been at work for a year. There is also a Union of Methodist Associations." "Fifty Years' Work Among Young Men," op. cit., p. 53.

ciety," and "The Contending Brethren"[32] being of the number. Useful charities and devout pieties characterized not a few men of times which certainly were far from being propitious, teaching the lesson that Christian character conquers circumstances and ever finds opportunity both for self-improvement and for works of love.

The link between the older and newer Protestant men's societies is David Naismith, who made important foundations in Glasgow, in London, and in America. On the morning of January 1, 1824, in Hutcheson Street, Glasgow, this zealous Presbyterian minister gathered about him a number of his young men at breakfast, and these he organized into "The Glasgow Young Men's Society for Religious Improvement." The constitution sets forth this object, "to establish and promote throughout the city and suburbs associations of Young Men for Mutual Religious Improvement." The members were to be of good moral character, and were expected to hold no opinions subversive of evangelical principles. The Bible was the rule, politics were not to be discussed, and everything was to be in conformity with Christian prudence and humility. During the first year no fewer than fifteen associations of this kind were formed in Glasgow, and they continued in operation until merged into the Young Men's Christian Association, as was the "Glasgow Young Men's Christian Institute," formed in 1841, which for some time ran independently, but later joined forces with the others.[33]

In 1830 David Naismith came to America, and early the next year, at his suggestion, the American Young Men's Society was formed and undertook as a supervisory board "to promote the moral interests of the young men of the United States by uniting them

[32] One can not help the comment that in another sense of the name this society can hardly yet be regarded as being defunct.

[33] "Fifty Years' Work Among Young Men," etc., op. cit., p. 172.

into associations for mutual improvement and active Christian and benevolent effort." An address was issued from New York City, where the society was instituted, urging the erection of local societies, which was done in some thirty of the principal cities of the United States and Canada. The design of the various local branches differed to some extent, in New York calling for moral and intellectual improvement, in Philadelphia for moral improvement and philanthropy. The large cities were districted, and effort was made to have sub-organizations in all districts. The society at New York in 1832 published a paper known as *The Young Men's Advocate*. In Philadelphia meetings were held for prayer and for Bible study, and some for the study of sciences and of literature; strangers were provided safe boarding places and introduced to good company; orphans were educated, and the poor helped; Sunday school and church attendance was fostered; Bibles and religious literature were distributed; total abstinence from the use of liquor was advocated. Nevertheless, owing to lack of effective supervision, the Naismith societies in America were short-lived; the one in Montreal surviving till 1838, and its secretary assisting in the American organization of the Young Men's Christian Association.[84]

David Naismith became also, in 1835, the founder of the famed London City Mission, and on the evening of the same day of this institution, in the home of Mr. George Seeley, in Fleet Street, he assembled a company of young men to form the Metropolitan Young Men's Society, into which came a number of men who were later of great prominence in Christian work. Weekly meetings were held, but the tasks assumed were mainly social; and as little aggressive effort was put forth in behalf of the young men of the city, the organization

[84] Ibid, pp. 115, 116.

ceased, though not without having thrown light upon the problems of men and having inspired the formation of other societies. The most valuable of these was the London Young Men's Society, to which reference is made elsewhere in this volume and which was a precursor both of the Young Men's Christian Association and of the Church of England's Men's Society. Aldersgate Street, London, already mentioned, continued to be the scene of earnest Christian efforts, which were thus described in 1870 by Mr. J. Ewing Ritchie: "The Young Men's Scripture Association has been very successful. Nearly two hundred of a Sunday afternoon attend the Bible Class in Aldersgate Street. It has twelve branches in different parts of the city."[35]

From the beginnings outlined in this chapter have grown the various brotherhoods of the Protestant Churches which will be described in their due order, and of the future of which in the providence of God no man knoweth, though any one may dream.

[35] "The Religious Life of London," p. 385.

XIV

ANGLICAN BROTHERHOODS

CHURCH OF ENGLAND AND PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL

THE chief brotherhood of the established Church in England is the Church of England Men's Society. This society was born in a palace, Lambeth, and its founder was the chief dignitary of the Church, the Archbishop of Canterbury, at whose suggestion, in 1896, three organizations of Churchmen having very similar aims were merged into one under the above title.[1] These three societies were the Church of England Young Men's Society, the Young Men's Friendly Society, and the Men's Help Society.[2]

The Church of England Young Men's Society was organized in 1843, the year before the date commonly set for the beginning of the work of the Young Men's Christian Association.[3] Its object was to promote the spiritual, social, and intellectual welfare of young men.

[1] "What Is the C. E. M. S., and What Is It After?" by the Right Reverend, the Bishop of Stepney, p. 9.

[2] Tract, "The Church of England Men's Society," by the Bishop of London.

[3] W. E. Shipton, in "The History of the Young Men's Christian Association of London," in Exeter Hall Lectures for 1845-46, xxxv, says: "Work for the religious good of young men, more especially directed to the circulation of missionary intelligence and the promotion of a missionary spirit amongst the junior members of the Church of England, was commenced about the end of 1842 by two little bodies which met respectively in the east and west of London, and were subsequently united and greatly developed under the title of 'The Church of England Young Men's Society for Aiding Missions at Home and Abroad.' With an abbreviated name, and more general objects, it exists to-day (1864); has several branches in the metropolis, and more in the provinces; has worked always for the best objects, in an earnest spirit, and with many very blessed results. Numbers of its members have filled and are filling important posts as ministers or missionaries connected with the National Church."

An Association of Lay Helpers for the Diocese of London was formed in 1865, producing, like similar organizations elsewhere, a force of lay "readers" and other Christian agents. By 1870 the London association had come to comprise 44 lawyers and medical men, 141 clerks, 48 mechanics and laborers, and 156 unclassified, all of these being more or less engaged in mission services, Sunday schools, house-to-house visitation, teaching in night schools, and other useful exercises.[4] A Guild of the Holy Standard was formed in 1873, for the avowed purpose of producing a higher type of life as regards courage, temperance, purity, and manliness, and to exercise an influence for good among young soldiers. The Young Men's Friendly Society in 1879 took for its rule of life "to pray to God every day, and to do something to help forward the work of the Church." The Church of England Working Men's Society was constructed entirely out of working men who were communicants and who sought to set before the members of their own class Christianity as taught by the Church of England, and to preserve the doctrines, discipline, and usages of the Church.

In promoting the organization which combined the greater number of the men's societies of the English Church the Bishop of London wrote: "(1) The New Society is not a mere amalgamation of three old societies; it aims, it is true, at conserving and carrying on the different objects for which the others existed, but it also aims at binding together and forming into one great brotherhood all men who are professed adherents of the Church of England. (2) Secondly, it will be seen that the society is on a definitely religious basis. Full members are communicants of the Church of England, or of branches of the Church in communion with her, and associates agree to keep a simple Rule of Life—'to

[4] "The Religious Life of London," J. Ewing Ritchie, p. 116 ff.

pray to God every day and to do something to help forward the work of the Church.' Men's communicant guilds—whose rules of life and membership are at least up to the standard of those required by the C. E. M. S. —can join at once throughout the country as full members of the numerous men's Bible classes, societies, or clubs—if not communicants—can join as associates, if willing to agree to the Rule of Life, and can become full members after their confirmation and first communion. (3) Thirdly, while thus established on a definitely religious basis, the society is to be elastic in its working. Each branch may do what it likes in its own town or parish; on the one side it may throw itself into the promotion of men's services, temperance work, Bible classes, and the like; or, on the other hand, it may establish clubs for working men, and make its own rules for the conduct of such. It may admit to such clubs and institutions whom it likes, and on what terms, only safeguarding this fundamental principle, that until they become members or associates, they have no voice in managing the branch of the Men's Society of the Church of England. (4) The society has therefore a missionary character. There is no greater danger than that when our men, and especially our working men, become communicants, they should become self-regarding and individualistic, whereas the view of the Church is that every communicant pledges himself to be a worker. The Men's Society lays emphasis on this principle, and the branch in each place is to be an active center of work of all kinds for the progress of the Kingdom of God."[5]

A more complete statement of the organization and of its definite purposes opened with a paragraph which showed the close relation of this society to the Church system. It was entitled, The Church of England Men's Society, and on the theme, "What it is," the explana-

[5] Tr. cit. sup.

tion was given: "A society of which the archbishops are the presidents, the bishops vice-presidents, and the Bishop of Stepney the chairman of the council and executive committee. It is an united effort on the part of men of all schools of thought within the Church, as will be evident by the names of those on the central council. It is formed to promote and develop the work of the Church of England among men. Doubtless in many parishes very noble and successful efforts have been made, and are continually being made, to meet this great need. But those who know most, and are doing most, are the first to confess that we are only at the beginning of our task. This effort is undertaken under due authority upon something like a common plan on the part of all those—of every class, and of every school of thought within the Church—who care that the men of England should be won for God. It is a question not merely for isolated effort, but for the whole Church."[6]

The handbook issued by the Church of England Men's Society contained the following table, suggesting to members of the organization

WAYS OF HELPING.

Sunday School.
- Teacher (permanent).
- Teacher (supernumerary).
- Librarian.
- Secretary.
- Helper at the Catechism.

Choir.
- Orchestra.
- Glee Party.

Sidesman (for special occasions).
Steward (for special occasions).
Bellringer.
Helper at Mission Services.
Helper at Cottage Services.
Helper at Out-door Services.
Helper at Men's Services.
Work Amongst Boys.
- Bible Class.
- Brigade.
- Athletics.
- Club, with Special or Technical Classes.
- Keeping Order in Church.

Temperance.
- Junior Branch.
- Intermediate Branch.
- Senior Branch.

[6] "The Idea and Method of the C. E. M. S.," published by the Society, p. 3.

Purity.
  White Cross League.
  Vigilance Committee.
Thrift.
  Benefit Society.
  Penny Bank.
  Auditor.
  Relief Committee.
  Almoner.
Secretary to some Special Mission.
Helper for Foreign Mission Work.
Helper for Home Mission Work.
Helper for Men's Bible Study.
Committees.
  Assistant Clergy Fund.
  Other Funds.
  Entertainment.
  "Welcome."
  Games,
  Clubs.
  Anti-Smoking Amongst Boys.
  Anti-Gambling.
Visiting.
  District.
  Infirmary.
  Hospital.
  Workhouse.
  Selected Sick Cases.
Lay Movement for Sunday Worship and Rest.
Correspondent.
  To Keep Touch with All Absent Members.
  To Correspond with Other Branches at Home and Abroad.
Press.
Distributor.
  Church Notices.
  Parish Magazine.
  Men's Magazine.
  Invitations.
Literary Society.
Mutual Improvement Society.
Church Gardening.
Church Carving.
Church Repairs, Painting, Plumbing, etc.
Care of Church Yard.[7]

Even a hasty glance through one of the numbers of the magazine which is published as the society's organ[8] will convince the reader that most of the suggested plan of work outlined above was carried out in actual service in various parts of the Church. As the years passed, the Church of England Men's Society broadened out into many useful departments and branches. The society traveled abroad. In Scotland it became known as the Scottish (Episcopal) Church Men's Society, in Ireland as The Church of Ireland Men's Society. In Canada, Australia, British West Indies, India, Newfoundland, New Zealand, South Africa, and in fact wherever the British flag floats this organization established itself.

[7] "C. E. M. S. Handbook," p. 7.

[8] "Men's Magazine," pub. in London by the Church of England Men's Society.

In foreign lands, as in France, for example, branches were formed in the Anglican Churches. Still later developments were federations and diocesan unions to bind together the various local societies. Valuable adjuncts were the army branches, of which numerous representatives were located in British garrisons in various parts of the world, and the Seamen's Guild, established in sea-ports for the religious instruction and care of sailors. In various cities lodgings secretaries were located, and their presence and proffered assistance to fellow churchmen visiting those cities or removing to them were advertised widely. By arrangement emigrating members of the society were met in countries new to them by chaplains of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, and their badges secured for them instant and favorable attention. Summer camp retreats were maintained each year by the Church of England Men's Society, and refreshment both for body and soul was provided in these institutions. The society took an interest in citizenship and in matters of reformed legislation.[9] Study circles with special reference to the matter of disestablishment have recently been formed in many places, and graduates go forth to make addresses on the subject. A very valuable feature of work in this society has been its thoughtful attention to correspondence between members at home and abroad. Corresponding members are encouraged to an increasing interest and activity, and besides the formation of pleasant friendships the result is an interchange of ideas which leads to a better understanding of the general movement and of local branch work.

[9] "Men's Magazine" for July, 1911, p. 28, gave testimony to the interest taken in the Shop Hours Bill of that year, especially in its relation to the Sunday question. Some time previously the Bedford Branch organized a Laymen's Association for Preventive and Rescue Work, with an income of 200 pounds per annum. Undesirable pictures and postcards were opposed, and other purity work was undertaken in this and in other branches.

Primarily the work of the Church of England Men's Society is spiritual. Therefore much is made of intercessions and of corporate communions. The latter are held annually, quarterly, monthly, or as the branch may elect. In the opinion of some leaders corporate communions may be held too frequently to be most impressive.[10] A strong effort is being made to foster the practice of extempore prayer, and a suggestive little folder presents daily topics for praise and petition, including also some formal general prayers for the society, for the Kingdom of Christ, and for the empire.[11]

The Brotherhood of St. Andrew[12] is not without English branches which have done good work, as have not a few societies of men of an independent and local character, and in England was founded a clerical order, The Society of Mission Priests of St. John the Evangelist, which was instituted at Cowley, in 1865, and was brought to America in 1872.[13] "The society is formed for the mutual assistance of its members in striving after Christian perfection, obedience to our Lord's counsels, and for the advancement of God's glory by such mission works as God in His providence may suggest. Lay brothers are associated with the priests in dedication of life and work. The Mission Church of St. John the Evangelist, Boston, Mass., is the center of the society's work in the United States. Among external works the Fathers give themselves especially to the preaching of missions where their assistance is invited by the parochial clergy, and the conducting of retreats

[10] Speakers at the Annual Conference of Federation Secretaries have emphasized this matter.

[11] "Quarterly Intercession Paper," published in London by the Society.

[12] Vide infra.

[13] The Society (Cowley Fathers) has done good work in various parts of Great Britain, in India, at Cape Town, and at Boston in America, where a branch house was established in 1872. "Monasticism," Woodhouse, p. 294.

for clergy, religious communities, and devout lay people."[14]

Another American clerical order, the Society of Mission Clergy, is an organization whose members, although engaged in parochial labors, will consent to conduct each year a limited number of missions. The Congregation of Companions of the Holy Savior is made up of priests and of candidates for orders, who adopt a rule intended to strengthen and to develop their spiritual and sacerdotal life. Retreats are conducted, but the work is mainly parochial in its nature. The Order of the Holy Cross, dating from New York, 1881, is a society for both priests and laymen, and which seeks the culture of the spiritual life of its members, and the practice of good works, particularly in conducting missions, conferences, and retreats. For a time the order, being located at Westminster, Md., was called Order of the Holy Cross of Westminster. The society has charge of schools for boys, and it has an adjunct association of clerical members pledged to live under a rule "suited to their condition in life."[15] This society was preceded by one of very similar name and purposes, but of unfortunate history: the Brotherhood of the Holy Cross, a religious community established in 1831 at Valle Crucis, N. C., by Levi Silliman Ives, at one time a bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church. The order was suppressed because of its tractarian views and zeal, and Mr. Ives entered the Roman Catholic Church, where he received a warm welcome and not a few honors.[16]

The Society of the Atonement, composed of clerical and lay members, espoused the cause of education and charity. The Brothers of Nazareth, composed of Epis-

[14] "The Living Church Annual," The Young Churchman Co., Milwaukee, Wis., "Religious Orders."

[15] "Living Church Annual," "Religious Orders," in loco.

[16] "History of the Catholic Church in the United States," Shea, p. 440.

copal laymen, and established in 1886, took for its objects prayer and manual work. "Persons living in the world desiring to further the objects of the brotherhood" were made associates. Among the historic works of the society may be named De Peyster Home for consumptive men and boys, All Saints' Convalescent Home, St. Andrew's Cottage, and the Mother House at Verbank, N. Y.

The Seabury Society of New York is a missionary organization whose idea is to train laymen for Church work. It maintains for this purpose the Church Workers' Commons, it has a corps of missionary speakers, and it offers to the archbishop a force of lay readers for such service as he may desire. The declared aims of the Seabury Society are even greater in their scope than this program suggests, being no less than "to enlist and instruct laymen to do specific work, outside of business hours, to spread the gospel of Jesus Christ, to do a layman's share to strengthen the Church in America to the end that it may be the better able to take the Church to all America, and to all the world."

In the first nine years of its history the Seabury Society brought into existence eighteen parishes and missions in New York City, all of which were soon self-supporting. It is felt by many clergymen and laymen of the Church that this organization has proved its fitness to labor and to receive high praise. The Seabury Society is one of the most successful of a number of Lay Helpers' Associations in the Episcopal Church, and of which it has been truly said, "The effective work which these associations have accomplished has had no small share in the remarkable growth of the Episcopal Church in the United States in recent years."[17]

Before passing to the discussion of the history and work of the foremost Episcopalian men's movement

[17] See "Congregationalist," Brotherhood Number, 1908.

of America, it may be remarked that a tendency has often been manifested in Anglican circles to encourage the formation of monastic communities. The ardent reformer, Latimer, desired the continuance of religious orders.[18] A considerable part of the protest against Henry VIII's dissolution of the monasteries and confiscation of their properties came from other sources than from their inmates and co-religionists. During the seventeenth century men's societies were approved by authorities of the English Church, and while these were not ascetic or cenobitic organizations, they carried out some details of the purpose of such institutions.[19] The famous Little Gidding community of Nicholas Ferrar, of Virginia plantation fame,—"a Protestant saint," John Fiske calls him[20]—was for both sexes. Established in 1626 and breaking up not long after Ferrar's death, in 1637, it presents a beautiful example of a consecrated Christian family of a touchingly devout character. To the establishment of this institution Ferrar was much inspired by his intimate friend, the saintly poet George Herbert. The confraternity at Little Gidding "gave no entertainment, but to the Poor, whom they instructed first, and then relieved, not with Fragments, but with the best they had. Their business was either Prayers or Work; nothing came between them; the Devil has less Power to tempt them, that he never found them idle. Their diet at meals was soon drest, as they sat not long at them; their bread was coarse, their drink small. Alms and Fasting, Prayers and Watching, with Reading and Singing Psalms, were continually in their Practice; there was no Intermission, day or night. By

[18] Art. "Brotherhoods," Bishop of Ripon, "Contemporary Review," 1890.

[19] See supra, p. 211.

[20] "Old Virginia," Fiske, p. 205. The name is spelled both Ferrar and Farrar.

night they kept watch in the House of the Lord, and two by turns did supply the Office for the rest."[21] The household comprised "a Congregation of Saints, not walking after the flesh, but after the Spirit; a family of the Farrars, the Mother with Sons and Daughters, other branches of the Kindred, with Servants."[22]

In the latter part of the nineteenth century a somewhat heated discussion took place in the English Church with reference to brotherhoods, and several institutions more or less monastic in nature arose both in England and in America.[23] One of the most famous foundations of this nature was Llanthony Abbey, established in Wales by Joseph Leycester Lyne, born in 1837, known as "Father Ignatius," or "Ignatius of Jesus," an English clergyman and author who took deacon's orders in the Church of England, spent some time in London missions, and then decided to found a community of Protestant Benedictines. This he succeeded in doing, and he gathered a few disciples, but the order did not spread widely. Father Ignatius was a devout man and an exceptional preacher of the evangelical faith. He became widely popular, and in 1890 he visited America, where Churches of many denominations received his ministry with enthusiasm, but a portion of the Protestant Episcopal bishops declined to admit him to their churches. Father Ignatius attacked evils which he found to have grown up in the American Church, and this accounts in part for the division over him. He was as warmly defended by many churchmen as he was opposed by others. The President of the United States, Benjamin Harrison, entertained "the Protestant Monk," and the

[21] Testimony of Archbishop Williams, "Life of George Herbert," Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, p. 273. Account of "Little Gidding," pp. 266-289.

[22] Ibid, p. 272.

[23] An argument in the negative, written with conservatism, is found in "Macmillan's," March, 1891, topic, "Brotherhoods."

family of the chief magistrate listened to his spiritual counsels with warm approval.[24] Among the published works of Father Ignatius are "The Catholic Church of England," "Leonard Morris, or the Benedictine Monk," "Mission Sermons and Orations," and "Tales of the Monastery."

Other Anglican monastic communities are on record in such writings as that of Woodhouse, who enumerates quite a list of these societies, including several of the names mentioned in this chapter.[25] He speaks of Pusey House at Oxford, Bethnal Green Mission, the Missionary Brotherhood formed in 1877 at Cambridge and working in India, the Brotherhood of a similar nature in Trinity College, Dublin, and the Society of St. Paul, originally founded at Calcutta under Father Hopkins, and removed to England about 1895, consisting of "priests and laymen separated and consecrated to the service of God, and our sailors in holy religion." The above named authority describes also the work of the Church Army, which, while not monastic, has principles and motives of a similar nature: "a desire to imitate Christ, and to follow Him literally in His precepts and practice. There is a band of lay evangelists, whose work is not unlike that of the preaching friars in their early and purer days. These are regularly trained in well-ordered houses and are then sent out into the low parts of great cities and the remote districts of the country to hold personal intercourse especially with men, to teach them the elements of godliness, and to be their friends in every way."[26] The lay Brotherhood of the Imitation of Jesus is considered elsewhere.[27]

[24] Vide "Father Ignatius in America," a naive account of experiences and of sermons delivered, written by one of the little company which attended Ignatius, and who subscribes himself, Father Michael David, O. S. B., Monk.

[25] "Monasticism," Rev. F. C. Woodhouse, M. A., p. 294 ff.

[26] Ibid, p. 297.

[27] Infra, chap. xx.

The foregoing must be taken as a type of thought which persists in the Anglican Churches, rather than as representing a widespread movement. In the face of many discussions and resolutions of the most important Church councils,[28] and despite the actual attempts made at their institution, ascetic and cenobitic bodies are rare and feeble in the English Churches, and the strength of the Church is drawn largely to such more active and practical brotherhoods as that with which this chapter opens, and the very successful religious fraternity with which the account of societies of Anglican men will be concluded.[29]

In general extension and in good fame the leading men's organization of the Protestant Episcopal Church of America is the Brotherhood of St. Andrew. This society of laymen is a strong and effective body of baptized churchmen working among men of all ages. It is generally recognized in the Church as a spiritual force.

Few stories of religious movements are more unusual and romantic than that of the founding of this brotherhood.[30] A dilapidated and wretched drunkard one day came to the rector of St. James' Church, Chicago, appealing for help. He had just drifted into town on a freight car, and the rector, Dr. Courtney, "a true man," did not know what to do with him. He could not take him into his home, neither could he go to live with and watch over the drunkard. The vestry of his church had no use for such creatures, neither

[28] Woodhouse, ibid, 303-306, quotes many record minutes of Church Convocations concerning the desirability of community life.

[29] In other branches of Protestantism the Monastic principle has been little recognized. Among its exceptional instances may be named the religious communities of the Lutheran Church at Kaiserwerth and Strasbourg, and those of the French and Swiss Reformed Churches at Paris and Echellins. Societies of Deaconesses living in cenobitic relations but without irrevocable vows exist among the Methodists and elsewhere.

[30] Mr. Houghteling's own account may be found in "St. Andrew's Cross," November, 1905, and in "Methodist Men," December, 1910.

would most of the young men connected with the parish take any interest in a sot. As a *dernier ressort* the rector turned to a little class of half-grown boys taught by Mr. James L. Houghteling, a man who was not only a loyal and spiritual worker in his own Church, but who had also much experience in the work of the Young Men's Christian Association.[31] This class met in an ancient attic under a hole in the plastered ceiling, by whom made not stated, where the members were accustomed to discuss the Word of God in ways wholly their own. The teacher was but lately out of college, and his confession that he knew more of "what men usually learn in college" than of the Word of God will find an echo in many a man's experience. To this teacher and his young men the rector came, saying: "For Heaven's sake do what you can for this man. I am supporting him, and he comes to me every night and tells his woes. Now, can't you and your boys hedge him about somehow, and help to shore him up?"

They took the drunkard in. Through several sessions of the class he slept the sleep of the inebriate, and his stertorous breathing must have been anything but a fitting accompaniment to the lesson. On one of his wakeful days, however, he told his new-found friends that when he was a young man in an Episcopal Church in a distant city he belonged to a Society of Andrew

[31] It is interesting to note that the religious experience of the founder of St. Andrew's Brotherhood was like that of many another normal young man. A writer in the "Waterbury American" (See "St. Andrew's Cross," April, 1911), says: "We have in mind a man who has recently died, the late James L. Houghteling, of Chicago, who devoted a large part of his life to the promotion of the Brotherhood of St. Andrew of the Episcopal Church, a Brotherhood of which he was the founder. Those who knew Mr. Houghteling in his Yale days, and just following, would never have anticipated this career for him. He was a man of society, a man of business, a man of the world. But the call of St. Andrew came to him and he found time and opportunity in the midst of a busy life to extend the Kingdom of God in a practical way." The writer's personal acquaintance and interviews with Mr. Houghteling impressed him that here was a gentleman, indeed, who had developed into a whole-hearted, modest fidelity to Christianity and to the Church.

and Philip. When asked for particulars he explained, "You remember that Andrew was the man who first found his own brother, Simon, before he did anything else, and brought him to Jesus, and that Philip was the man that found his particular friend, Nathaniel, before he did anything else, and brought him to Jesus." With this the old wreck had made his last lurch toward his former good life. Soon after he died in jail as the result of a drunken debauch. "Yet," says Mr. Houghteling in his account of the beginning of the brotherhood, "through the word of this man God stirred up the wills of that little company, that dozen of insignificant folk, so that they started out to do something. The place for old men in that parish, if they wanted to do anything, was on the vestry. The place for young men in that parish, if they wanted to do anything, was in the Sunday school. And the vestry was full, and the Sunday school was full. There did n't seem to be any opportunity. But the Lord stirred them up to will that something must be done, and that, God helping them, they would each do the thing that he was best qualified to do. And as a boy of seventeen did not seem to be best qualified to teach little boys and girls in the Sunday school or to serve on the vestry, and did seem best qualified, by every instinct of common sense and common sympathy, to lend a hand to other boys of seventeen, it did seem to them that what they had to do was for each one to go out, after the manner of Andrew and Philip, and get hold of his brother or his friend and bring him within the hearing of the gospel of Jesus Christ."

There is a word which says that God uses "things which are not to bring to naught things that are." What better example of this than the one before us? On St. Andrew's Day, 1883, the dozen young men of Mr. Houghteling's class formed an agreement to follow

the example set by St. Andrew in bringing his brother into the Messiah's presence and friendship. This action met with the warm approval of Rev. W. H. Vibbert, D. D., the new rector, so that the new movement was from the first a recognized parochial guild. The members adopted two rules: (1) That of prayer, "to pray daily for the spread of Christ's Kingdom among young men," and (2) that of service, "to make an earnest effort each week to bring at least one young man within the hearing of the gospel of Jesus Christ as set forth in the services of the Church and in young men's Bible classes." "How far a little candle throws its beams!" This movement from the first attracted interested and sympathetic attention. Prejudice, of course, did not fail to assert its opposition, and conservatism caused many to hesitate until some history should be made. However, the year 1886 found thirty-five scattered parochial guilds which had adopted similar rules and were ready for a general organization, which was then formed under the title of the Brotherhood of St. Andrew of the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States.

The Brotherhood of St. Andrew in Canada was organized in Toronto, June 9, 1890. The organization in Scotland was formed on St. Andrew's Day, 1891; in England, June 12, 1898; in the West Indies and South America, April, 1896.

The Brotherhood of St. Andrew works only by the approval and under the leadership of the clergy. Chapters can not be established elsewhere than in parishes, missions, and educational institutions of the Church, and only with the written consent of the rector or minister in charge. In all local matters the chapters are independent, but are related and dependent with reference to interests and obligations of general importance. All baptized men are eligible to membership,

but there is no general membership. Each affiliated individual acquires membership through a local chapter. The Brotherhood in the United States holds a largely-attended annual convention, bringing together men from all parts of the country for common worship, for instruction from Church leaders, and for mutual discussion. Churchly features are prominent at these gatherings. Especially is much made of the annual corporate celebration of the Holy Communion, which is regarded as the most noteworthy and significant item in the convention program. Smaller conventions in various States or dioceses are sometimes held, where time permits more particular detail in discussion of chapter interests and endeavors. Local assemblies have been formed in many cities and neighborhoods to promote better acquaintance and closer co-operation among churchmen. The officers of all of these organizations seek to aid the general work by counseling the active chapters, by visiting and aiding the weak, and by assisting in the establishment of new work.

The following suggestive subjects for use in addresses on the occasion of chapter visitation were employed by the Philadelphia Local Assembly in instructing the visitors sent out: "The Practice of Prayer: 1. Prayer in chapter meetings—general devotions and specific petitions. 2. A suggested plan to make personal daily prayers unite with those of the entire chapter to accomplish specific work. 3. Chapter methods to develop the prayer life. 4. Making the most, spiritually, of the corporate communion. 5. The constant use of prayer. 6. A boy's entrance into the prayer life. 7. How to use the prayer book effectively—personally and for others. 8. Bible foundations for all manner of prayer. 9. Concentration in prayer. Realization of God's presence. 10. The best books on prayer." "Personal Work: 1. Personal work as an obligation and as

a privilege. Its relative position in chapter life. 2. The methodical treatment of personal work. Our 'Father's Business'—in assignment, report, and personal plans. 3. Opportunities for personal work—natural and made. 4. Scattering weekly personal efforts compared with persistent continued work. Possibilities within the congregation and with week-day associates. 5. How personal work may be brought into the various kinds of corporate work. 6. Sick visiting. Personal work through correspondence. 7. The use of prayer in personal work. 8. Training others in brotherhood work, by 'two and two' visiting."[32]

The National Convention appoints a council which has general supervision of the brotherhood, and which maintains an office as headquarters for the society, and from it literature is issued and correspondence directed. The council has published from 1886 a valuable international monthly called *St. Andrew's Cross*. A very considerable list of Brotherhood of St. Andrew publications not only furnish needed supplies for the practical affairs of chapters, but religious culture and teaching in philanthropy.

Parochial chapters of the Brotherhood of St. Andrew are organized with extreme simplicity. Emphasis is nowhere placed upon numbers; indeed, effort is made to keep the enrollment down to those only who have a definite spiritual purpose in engaging upon and in continuing in the affairs of the brotherhood.[33] The following represents the advice given to organizers during the earlier years of the movement:

"Do n't admit a man to membership because he is a pleasant fellow, because he wants to come in, because some one has nominated him and will be hurt if he is not chosen, because of his money or social position, or

[32] "St. Andrew's Cross," February, 1911.

[33] "Church and Young Men," Cressey, p. 115.

for any reason at all except that he is fitted to do good work in the chapter for the spread of the Kingdom among young men.

"Don't let a man in simply because he has been brought to church by some member of the chapter or simply because you want to do him good. The chapter it not to be a field for missionary work, but a body of missionary workers.

"Don't let a man in without the good-will of the members with whom he is to work, and the hearty approval of the parish priest who is to guide his spiritual efforts.

"In general, go very slowly in admitting members. Admit no one without a good reason for it. Don't let the chapter get large and unwieldy. Consider the size of the parish, the amount of work on hand, the ability of the chapter officers to keep men together, and then judge accordingly. Not every parish has work enough for a large chapter. In some cases it might be well to put a limit on the number of members and to make brotherhood membership an honor worth waiting for. In the case of each candidate let the question be not 'Why should he not be admitted?' but 'Why should he be admitted?' "[34]

The strength gained by such a selective principle is easily apparent. On the other hand, who can doubt that exclusiveness, if not caddishness, may result in cases where the wrong spirit gets in at the start? That this has actually happened in some instances is indicated by the following doubtless much exaggerated statement, "If you go into most of our chapters, they are a kind of inner circle of fellows who are about equal socially, and when a new man comes in there he is met on chapter-meeting night, and he is taken with the other

[34] From pamphlet "Brotherhood Membership," published by the Brotherhood of St. Andrew.

fellows to the brotherhood work, but when it comes to meeting him in other places he is not met."[35]

A good feature of the quality rather than quantity ideal of membership is that a few men have the courage to begin and the good-will to maintain an organization. The writer once asked an Episcopal rector whom he met on a train and who wore the St. Andrew's cross, how many men he had in his chapter. "Three," was the reply, with the added comment, "That 's all the men I have who are fit to be in." Certainly no one could fail to admire a discrimination so rigid, and a fidelity which in an exceptionally little parish would maintain a chapter without fit men enough for the usual offices. Nor should there be the least question that three men and a pastor, banded together in the ties of a significant and determined fraternity, under divine direction, may accomplish a great work in any community.

All chapters of the Brotherhood of St. Andrew are required to conduct their work as a truly spiritual undertaking, and it is understood that they shall not manage entertainments, fairs, and similar functions. Social work is, however, conducted by some branches. These methods of service are encouraged: "Daily prayer, personal influence, invitations to church services, showing cordial attention to men who attend them, visiting men in their homes, distributing notices of services, providing mission services, conducting Bible classes, endeavoring to bring men to Baptism and Confirmation, bringing back to the Holy Communion those who have become negligent, and trying in all relations of life, business, social, or religious, to exert a wholesome manly influence on those with whom they associate."

The Brotherhood of St. Andrew engages in foreign

[35] F. J. Weber, Detroit: "The Growth of the Brotherhood," "St. Andrew's Cross," November, 1902.

work. In 1893 the Bishop of Tokyo desired a brotherhood representative to work in Japan, addressing the young men of that country, and organizing native chapters. Twenty men volunteered to go, and Charles H. Evans, of St. Mary's Chapter, St. Paul, Minn., was sent, and was followed by Prof. Frank E. Wood, of Trinity Chapter, Bay City, Mich. In 1895, at the request of the Bishop of Shanghai, Dr. William L. Ludlow was sent to China. These men were not sent as missionaries, but as brotherhood representatives and organizers. Several chapters were organized in Japan, and the society has extended to all lands where Anglican Churches are found.

In 1892 a Junior Department for the Brotherhood of St. Andrew began its work. Its twofold object is (1) that boys may work for the spread of Christ's Kingdom among boys; (2) that a supply of trained workers may be gradually developed for the spread of Christ's Kingdom among men. The Knights of St. Paul, another society of boys in the Episcopal Church, does similar work, but is secret.

Since its beginning between two and three thousand St. Andrew Chapters have been recognized, but many have fallen by the way.[36] These are sought after and restored as rapidly as possible, and under the care of excellent general officers, and skillfully promoted by a force of field secretaries in different parts of the country, the brotherhood is steadily growing. Its conventions are not only large but representative, and some indication of the intensive strength of the organization may be gathered from the following table published a few years since:[37]

[36] The plan of receiving Probationary Chapters will doubtless do something to remedy this general evil of Brotherhood work.

[37] "St. Andrew's Cross," December, 1909.

WORK OF ST. ANDREW'S BROTHERHOOD CHAPTERS

93 per cent regularly invite to Church and Sunday School.
86 per cent regularly try to bring to the Sacraments.
81 per cent have St. Andrew's Cross subscribers.
80 per cent have members engaged in Sunday School work.
77 per cent visit men in their homes.
75 per cent observe the Week of Prayer.
70 per cent maintain Men's Parish Communion Services.
59 per cent have members who are lay readers.
56 per cent regularly report to Follow-Up Department.
48 per cent have Bible classes.
48 per cent have members who give to Forward Movement Fund.
43 per cent visit hospitals, prisons, etc.
43 per cent leave invitations in hotels and boarding houses.
32 per cent maintain Mission services.
23 per cent have members who intend to take Holy Orders.

A similar statistical exhibit has been made for the Junior Department. Lenten services held by the brotherhood have proved very popular in not a few places, and in outlying districts cottage meetings have been well received, and they have resulted in the establishment of missions and new Churches. Men's communions have been conducted widely. The Brotherhood of St. Andrew receives the full endorsement of the Church which it represents, many an expression of faith in its providential origin and character and of approval of its achievements having come from the highest churchmen, to many of whom "the brotherhood seems to be an answer to the prayer inserted in the American Litany, 'that it may please Thee to send forth laborers into Thy harvest.' These words were inserted at a time when there was great need of workers in the American Church, and the advent of the Brotherhood of St. Andrew revealed the existence of more latent energy than people ever dreamed of, which was simply pleading for organization.

"Perhaps the greatest thing the brotherhood gave

to the Church was definiteness. A member must be definite and systematic in his Church life. In nature the fields become green, the sun, moon, and stars follow their appointed rule. It is the same that makes kings of the business world rise, for 'Greatness is the child of method.' Shall we then leave the most important things of life and eternity to mere chance? If Jesus Christ and His Church are worth anything, let them take their rightful place and be the first in our minds. The Brotherhood of St. Andrew in principle is a system of order, habit, and rule, and that is why it has come to the front. Its mission is to make the work of churchmen definite and systematic."[38]

[38] Very Rev. Frank DuMoulin, LL. D., address at the Western Ontario Conference, Guelph, May, 1911.

XV

AUXILIARY ASSOCIATIONS

SOCIETIES OF MEN RELATED TO THE PROTESTANT CHURCH

Most widely extended of all societies of men representing various Protestant communions, but not confined to local Church organizations, is the Young Men's Christian Association. That this society was not without precursors in London and elsewhere in England has already been seen in the account of Post-Reformation Brotherhoods, the Horneck religious associations, the societies for reformation of manners, the London and Metropolitan Young Men's Societies, and the Church of England Young Men's Society for aiding missions at home and abroad being among the number; but as these societies were relatively few and obscure, and since social conditions were such as to indicate dire need of giving more definite and systematic consideration to the lives of men, a great and open field awaited the foundation of the Young Men's Christian Association.

If one were to search for illustrations of the saying, "Institutions are the lengthened shadow of one man," he could hardly find a better instance than the one presented by this society. A world-wide and effective Christian agency was all unconsciously to him wrapped up in the career of a boy who in 1841 went up to London from Bridgewater, England, to take a position as clerk in a large dry-goods house. The employees of modern department stores, while sometimes no doubt unfairly treated, would hardly wish to go back to the conditions

which George Williams encountered in his new environment. From eight in the morning until nine or ten at night the clerks were kept constantly busy, with hardly an hour, all told, for the meals of the day.[1] They were expected to occupy lodgings under the roof of the employer, and their sleeping apartments were small, poorly ventilated, and overcrowded. Moreover, their social and moral condition seemed to be a matter of little or no concern to any one.

A fact too often forgotten by social reformers is that men need not only places to eat, sleep, and work, but a common meeting place for amusement, and for the refreshing influence of music and of conversation. The London clerks of '41, having no common sitting-room or club, could not content themselves in their mean and unattractive quarters, and naturally the majority could be found after work-hours in the midst of the intemperance and brawling of nearby "publics." Into a maelstrom of temptation and vice were thus drawn hundreds of boys from the purest of country homes. Among them was one George Williams, born at Ashway Farmhouse, near Dulverton, Southern England, in 1821. This lad was early destined by his parents to a business career, and after a brief education at "Glyn's School," in his fifteenth year he was apprenticed to the Holmes Drapery Establishment at Bridgewater. Williams had as yet received no very strong religious impressions, but among the employees with whom he became associated were several members of the Independent Church who exercised a strong influence upon him, and he was persuaded to surrender himself to Christian faith and life. In the building where he worked was a little dark room

[1] Shipton, Exeter Hall Lectures, 1845-46, in his account of the London Association, says of the clerks of that day, "They commenced their labor from seven to nine in the morning and closed it from nine to eleven in the evening in the more favorable seasons, while in some the toil of the day did not end till long after midnight, and the duties of the following day were resumed by six o'clock."

where wrapping-paper was kept, and to this place the boy often slipped off to pray and to gain strength of soul. Soon he was teaching in Sunday school, and with his friends was holding young men's prayer-meetings in their bedrooms, to which other comrades were invited. Before long twenty-seven were converted, one of the proprietors of the establishment being of the number. Lay activity in Christian service was just beginning in England, and Mr. Williams is quoted as saying of the above work: "There was a freshness about it that gave zest to our efforts. We had no society or organization. We worked because we felt impelled to work."[2]

In 1841, the Bridgewater house having changed hands, George Williams went to London and entered the establishment of George Hitchcock & Co. as a junior assistant. At this time the clerks of London were much neglected and often became dissipated and even vicious. The environment was far from good; but, however strong the current, some fish are not content to go down stream, and young men occasionally appear who are superior to any environment. Like one of old, George Williams "purposed in his heart that he would not defile himself." Having become no less religious than he was moral, industrious, and determined to make his way, he soon suggested to one in whom he discovered kindred aspirations that one of the sleeping-rooms be used as a place of assembly for purposes social and religious. The plan met with favor. Others of the eighty young men of the establishment were invited to unite in the undertaking, and soon quite a company spent occasional evenings together in prayer or study and in social intercourse. George Williams and J. Christopher Smith, a young man who was a devoted Christian and Bible student, and who had followed his

[2] "A History of the Young Men's Christian Association," L. L. Doggett, Ph. D., Vol. I, p. 32.

friend into the house by a month, being the leading spirits. It will give some idea of the moral earnestness as well as the type of mind of these young men when it is noted that among the books which were read and discussed with helpfulness by them were President Finney's "Lectures on Revivals of Religion" and "Lectures to Professing Christians." For simplicity, ardor, and fidelity to the sublime interests of the soul the like of these books can not be found in more modern literature.

These bedroom meetings and the perusal of such literature could have but one result: the quickening of faith and the conversion of men. A literary society, a Bible class, and a missionary society were soon founded, and, best of all, very soon several young men were won for Christ, and Mr. George Hitchcock, the head of the house, also found the reality of the new birth through the same instrumentality, so wonderfully does the divine blessing attend sincere faith and effort.

Even before his conversion, however, their employer had taken an interest in the new movement. When the first little room became too straitened for the meetings, and a committee with trepidation asked for a larger and unoccupied apartment, to their surprise the request was not only granted, but Mr. Hitchcock, approving the character and business faithfulness of these young men, gave to them himself as well as the room, from that time exhibiting a father's concern for the whole household of his employees, and later becoming a princely promoter of gospel enterprises. Early in 1844 Mr. Hitchcock described to Mr. W. D. Owen the religious work going on among his young men, and the latter, through a Mr. James Smith, one of his assistants, inaugurated a similar work in his business house.[3] Four establish-

[3] "The Young Men's Christian Association in London," E. W. Shipton, p. 33.

ments were soon holding prayer-meetings and the Drapers' Association was taking measures to secure the improvement of employed men.

Mr. Edward Beaumont, one of the early Christian band which laid the foundations of this work, relates the next great step in its history. He says that on a Sunday evening in the latter end of May, 1844, he was walking to Surrey Chapel with George Williams, when his companion said, "Teddy, are you prepared to make a sacrifice for Christ?" The reply was, "If called upon to do so, I hope and trust I can." His companion then told him that he had become deeply impressed with the idea of introducing the new but already successful plans into every large establishment in London, and that he thought that if a few earnest self-denying men could be found to unite themselves together for this purpose God would smile upon the effort and much good would be done. Finding hearty concurrence in the mind of his friend, Mr. Williams called a meeting for June 6, 1844, at 72 St. Paul's Churchyard, where twelve young men, including one from another house of business,[4] decided to form a "Society for Improving the Condition of Young Men engaged in the Drapery and other Trades," and appointed a committee of management.[5] A very remarkable circumstance is the fact that these twelve Christian young men represented in equal numbers four leading denominations, thus stamping catholicity upon the society at its very outset. The founder, who became a successful merchant, and in 1894 was knighted for his philanthropic work,[6] was a member of

[4] Mr. James Smith, from Owen's, above mentioned.

[5] "Fifty Years' Work Among Young Men in All Lands," Ch. Permaud, Ed., p. 160. "Historical Records of the Young Men's Christian Association," G. J. Stevenson, p. 17.

[6] "Life of Sir George Williams," J. E. Hodder Williams, p. 273. "The modesty and the religious seriousness of this good man in the time of his ripened age and in the day of his highest earthly recognition is thus portrayed: Mr. J. H. Putterill, one of the Secretaries of the

the Church of England. On July 4th, of several names suggested, at the suggestion of Christopher Smith,[7] the organization received the one now known everywhere, "The Young Men's Christian Association." The constitution adopted states "that the object of this association shall be the improvement of the spiritual condition of young men engaged in the drapery and other trades by the introduction of religious services among them," and Article 8 says "that no person shall be considered eligible to become a member of this association unless he be a member of a Christian Church, or there be sufficient evidence of his being a converted character." In all that was done no attention seems to have been given to previous efforts put forth for young men. Action was influenced principally by the felt needs of these founders and of their associates.

It has already appeared from this account that the Young Men's Christian Association is a Christian brotherhood of broad but earnest spirit. It works among men of all religious tenets, and for the Church universal; its active membership, as will be seen, being based upon evangelical faith. After the completion of the organization the first endeavor was to carry out the proposed extension of the movement into other business houses. A coffee-room in Ludgate Hill was rented for meetings at half a crown a week, and a circular letter inviting co-operation in the work of the new society was sent to all young men engaged in the drapery and

Association, was with him when he received the letter from the Earl of Rosebery communicating Her Majesty's pleasure. After reading it, his face grew pale; his voice was choked with feeling as he spoke of its contents. The whole thing was so unexpected by this humble Christian worker. Handing the letter to the Secretary, he said, 'What do you think of that?' He replied, 'Sir, it is a well deserved honor.' 'No, no,' said George Williams, 'it is not for me, it is for the Association. It belongs to our Master; let us put it at His feet.' Then they knelt in prayer, and in humble tones he gave the recognition to Him to whom he felt it was rightly due."

[7] Doggett, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 40.

allied trades whose names the committee could secure. The carefulness with which the beginnings of this movement were made is indicated by the following expressions from the report of the first five months' work: "There are at present connected with the association about seventy enrolled members; the greatest possible caution has been exercised in their selection. We would rather see the names of men willing to be 'instant in season and out of season in the work of the Lord' than behold a long and numerous list of those without the power of godliness. Religious services are now established in fourteen houses, into ten of which they were introduced by the association. There are also two districts in which young men from different houses meet together for united prayer."[8] The thought can hardly be prevented from coming to mind, What if this religious carefulness and the ideal of a primarily spiritual society had been more perfectly preserved in the modern organization?

It soon became necessary "to employ a missionary to act as assistant secretary" and to make himself generally useful to young men "by pointing them to 'the Lamb of God which taketh away the sins of the world.'" By the assistance of Mr. Hitchcock funds were raised, and Mr. T. H. Tarlton, a layman, was secured for this work.

In 1845 the formation of mutual improvement societies provided a means of engaging the attention of unconverted young men and inaugurated the social service of the organization, and in the same year the Exeter Hall Lecture Course was established. In the first four years of this course thirty-six thousand published copies of the lectures were sold, which fact, as well as the great audiences in attendance, witness the success of the plan. Another progressive step was the

[8] Doggett, ut supra, pp. 41-43.

inauguration in 1846 of the Young Men's Sunday Afternoon Bible Class, placing upon a systematic basis the study of the Word, which has never ceased to be a powerful factor in the history of the association. By 1854 seven hundred young men per week met in ten London classes. Long before this time the circulation of Christian literature in the form of tracts, pamphlets, and "Papers for Young Men" had been begun, thirty-nine thousand copies of the latter being distributed in the year 1852. The next development was still more definitely educational, being the establishment of a library, a reading-room, and educational classes, this beginning of a far-reaching work being made in 1849. At about the same period also began that foreign march of the Young Men's Christian Association which has encompassed the globe. By 1855, when the International Alliance was founded, organizations had been effected not only in Great Britain and Ireland, but in the United States and Canada, France, Germany, Holland, Switzerland, Belgium, Italy, and in sixteen other countries. In some of these countries, notably Germany and Switzerland, the association simply absorbed the earlier local societies. In Germany ten or more associations (Christlicher Jünglingsverein)[9] were formed before 1844.

In America the association was immediately preceded by several organizations already mentioned,[10] the "Young Men's Society," inspired by Naismith of Glasgow, and a "Young Men's Society of Enquiry," organized in Cincinnati in 1848, and in 1853 called the "Young Men's Christian Union," being those best known.[11] The direct inspiration to which the American association is to be attributed came, however, from London, the first organizations so effected being formed at

[9] Supra, p. 221.

[10] Supra, pp. 222, 223.

[11] "Fifty Years' Work Among Young Men," op. cit., p. 116.

Montreal and at Boston on the 9th and 29th of December, respectively, in the year 1851. In Montreal tract distribution, begun by the Naismith society, had been continued by some older men who enlisted youthful helpers. As one of these youths called for his companion on a day in September, 1851, he was handed a copy of the Exeter Hall Lectures with the remark, "Why can not we have a Young Men's Christian Association in Montreal?" This word led to further conversations. A former member of the London society was found, and as he had in possession a copy of the constitution of that society, he aided the organization formed in St. Helen Street Church, the same place in which twenty years earlier the Naismith Society was born. An article by an American student, and published in a Boston paper in June, 1850, was the source of the work begun in that city the next year, and the Montreal and Boston associations were unrelated, if not ignorant of each other's existence, for some two years. Similar societies soon arose in Buffalo, Washington, New York, and Baltimore, and the first effort at affiliation came from Washington, resulting in a delegated gathering two years later in Buffalo. At this meeting, June 7, 1854, nineteen associations of the thirty-two which were invited, and including a Canadian representative, took steps announced in February, 1855, as having been ratified by two-thirds of the existing bodies, and which formally brought into being the Young Men's Christian Confederation of the United States and British Provinces.

The first World's Conference of the Young Men's Christian Association took place in Paris, August 20, 1855, under the title Conférence Universelle des Unions Chrétiennes de Jeunes Gens, and it was at this convention that by resolution of an American delegate the his-

toric Paris "basis" was adopted.[12] Visits to other countries from representatives of the association added to the effectiveness of the sentiment produced by this conference. In 1881-2 a German-speaking secretary of the American committee went to his native country, and the result of his presence and work in Berlin and elsewhere in the empire is the Christlicher Verein Junger Männer, one of the most valuable branches of the association. A very similar incident occurred at Paris.

In tracing the later development of the association it is of interest to note among other facts that it was at a convention of the Northern association in New York City, November 14, 1861, the United States Christian Commission[13] was formed, an organization whose work was epochal in the history of warfare, and whose achievements in ministering to the material and spiritual needs of the soldiers engaged in the greatest of civil conflicts, furnish some of the brightest pages of Christian history and inaugurated the various forms of work for special classes of men which are now so well known.

The Young Men's Christian Association has always

[12] "Fifty Years' Work," op. cit., p. 119.

[13] "The History of the Great Republic," Jesse T. Peck, pp. 668-670, has an interesting account of the Christian Commission. Among other things, he says, "It was organized in Philadelphia on the 16th of November, 1861, in response to a call from the Young Men's Christian Association." "In both means and men there was no lack, but a steady and rapid growth, of abundance, without a parallel in the history of Christian charities." "For the whole period of its service, from the 16th of November, 1861, to May, 1866, in cash, services, provisions, clothing, etc., its Christian charities and labor for the relief of our soldiers were estimated at $6,291,107.68. Delegates commissioned, 4,859—working in the aggregate, without compensation, 185,562 days; boxes of stores and publications, 95,066; Bibles, Testaments, and other portions of Scripture, 1,466,748; hymn and psalm books, 1,370,953; knapsacks, books in paper and flexible covers, 8,308,052; bound library books, 296,816; magazines and pamphlets, 767,861; religious weekly and monthly periodicals; 18,126,002; pages of tracts, 89,104,246; 'Silent Comforter,' etc., 8,572; sermons preached by delegates, 58,308; prayer-meetings held by delegates, 77,744; letters written by delegates for soldiers, 92,821." Ibid, p. 669. The value of this vast work, done among men exposed to the perils of camp and field, may be more fully imagined than realized.

been considered as a body of men auxiliary to and a part of the evangelical Churches. The Paris "basis" was adopted in 1856 by the Montreal convention, and at Portland in 1867 the evangelical test was maintained, and it was provided that associations organized after that date must, in order to representation in the convention, embody in their constitutions a clause restricting active membership with the right to vote and hold office to young men in communion with an evangelical Church. This is known as the "Portland test." It can not be doubted that the establishment of this criterion of membership gave the association the instant confidence and strong support of the Church, and its obliteration will undoubtedly weaken the influence of the organization.

The first association building was erected in Chicago in 1867, since which time many splendid and costly structures have been built in all parts of the world to house young men and to act as centers of Christian interest. The splendor of some of these structures has caused criticism, but no doubt can reasonably exist that youths away from home have found in them advantages which otherwise would have been almost impossible of attainment. The college, railroad, and industrial work of the Association have now for some decades grown to proportions and power which command respect. In 1901 the American Young Men's Christian Associations, having completed a half century of work, followed the example set by the British associations in 1894 and held a jubilee in the city of Boston, at which time among the many telegrams and messages of congratulation received were those of President William McKinley, King Edward VII, Emperor William of Germany, King Emanuel of Italy, and Prince Hilkoff of Russia.[14] A Jubilee Exhibit was made at this time showing the work of the

[14] "Life of Sir George Williams," op. cit., p. 301.

religious, educational, athletic, and other departments. Of the educational exhibit, representing what was at that time a comparatively new undertaking, the judges said in their report, "For the extent, variety, and excellence of the work done we desire to compliment the committee and the various associations."[15]

During the progress of the second half century of the work of the Young Men's Christian Association great advances have been made, especially on the material side of the movement. The most important item in religious development has been the employment of special secretaries to give attention to the spiritual condition and needs of young men, and to plan undertakings for their welfare.

The whole movement for "work by men and for men" conducted by this organization is so well understood that its account may only be made a little more striking by the addition of a statement printed some time since by Mr. C. K. Ober as part of an article with the caption, "Manhood Engineering." This writer said: "It is less than sixty years since the seed-thought of the Young Men's Christian Association was planted in North American soil, in the cities of Boston and Montreal. It has since spread to six hundred of the twelve hundred cities of North America. It has adapted and entrenched itself at two hundred and fifty division and terminal points of our great railway systems, in fifty industrial centers, at the naval stations and army posts on our mainland, and in our insular possessions, and on the Panama Canal. It is also at work on our battleships and in our railroad construction camps, and (adapting itself to country conditions) in nearly fifty counties. It has specialized and evolved great departments, and found and trained specialists in physical work, in educational work, in religious work. It has

[15] "Report of the Jubilee Exhibit," p. 19.

grown into great State, provincial and international organizations, covering the continent of North America with a network of helpful supervision, and pushing, with intelligence and efficiency, its manysided campaigns of development and extension. It has also projected itself in a great missionary or foreign department, sending out and supporting, by the voluntary offerings of its members, more than one hundred secretaries (all university graduates), and in ninety days, beginning in October, 1910, raised a fund of $2,000,000 to erect, or enlarge, fifty-five association buildings throughout Latin America and all parts of the non-Christian world. It has secured $70,000,000 worth of property (chiefly in buildings for its city work) in North America, and employs a force of over three thousand secretaries. 'But this is history,' some one may say. Yes, but it is modern history."[16]

An organization which for a time seemed destined to do a wide work on the non-denominational basis was the Christian Industrial League. This society had an adjunct Christian Industrial Benefit Association, and it was adapted to appeal to the working classes. Its principal activity was in New England in the latter part of the nineteenth century. The cause of its failure to take a larger place in the history of brotherhood work may have been the difficulty of instituting benefit work without a force of paid agents. Or perhaps the fault was in not keeping the spiritual purpose in the foreground. During the time of its popularity the league was strongly endorsed as constituting a valuable agency for "developing a spirit of Christian service and winning men to Jesus Christ."[17]

It would be unfortunate to pass unmentioned a large

[16] "Association Men," Magazine of the Young Men's Christian Association, 1911.

[17] Mead, "Modern Methods in Church Work," pp. 160, 161. Headquarters were at Springfield, Massachusetts.

class of societies which Christian men in union created and which they have nourished to promote the work of reformation and purity. The National Divorce Association was organized in 1881 as the New England Divorce Reform Association. Various gentlemen, both Protestants and Roman Catholics, with Dr. Theodore D. Woolsey as president, combined to establish this society, which became National in 1885, taking for its purpose "to promote an improvement in public sentiment and legislation in the institution of the family, especially as affected by existing evils relating to marriage and divorce." Not a little excellent service was rendered in the way of investigation of conditions, publicity, and improved legislation; but the present state of the country on this matter is none too encouraging to friends of righteousness and of the home. Law and Order Leagues began work with the Massachusetts society in 1882, and in various cities and States they accomplished excellent results in behalf of purity and of the regulation of the liquor traffic. A Lord's Day Alliance was established in Washington, in 1888, having for its object the protection of the American Sabbath. Several National Reform Associations have headquarters at Washington, Philadelphia, and other places, and various States and cities have similar institutions. The International Reform Bureau, Washington, in 1911 claimed a record of thirteen laws which at its instigation and by its assistance had been introduced into the Congress of the United States and had become statutes.[18] The American Protective Association was formed at Clinton, Iowa, in 1887, not as a political party, but as a body of citizens determined to defend the sovereignty of the United States against "any ecclesiastical power not created and controlled by American citizens, and which claims equal, if not greater, sovereignty than the Government of the

[18] Q. v. "World Almanac."

United States of America." In 1900 this organization claimed two millions of members and had spread to Canada, England, and Australia, but leading Protestants, notably Dr. H. K. Carroll of the Methodist Episcopal Church, opposed the extreme views of this order, and it has been less prominent than formerly.[19] The American Minute Men are not proscriptive or radical. The principles of this new society are, "Public money shall not be appropriated for sectarian schools," and "Public money shall not be appropriated for any institution wholly or in part under sectarian control."

Of an interesting nature was the establishment of the interdenominational American Institute of Social Service, organized in 1898 to replace the League for Social Service, and whose early leader was Dr. Josiah Strong, author of many popular books on social topics.[20] This institute determined to be a clearing-house for social information. It took for its functions: 1. To gather from all sources facts bearing on the solution of social problems. 2. To interpret these by ascertaining causes and effects. 3. To disseminate the resulting knowledge to practical workers and for the education of public opinion. By the time the organization had operated for a dozen years it reported the formation of five hundred classes for the study of social problems, with more than six thousand students. *The Gospel of the Kingdom* was founded as the monthly journal of the society, which at the Paris Exposition of 1907, as well as previously in the French capital and elsewhere, received the highest award in social economy.[21]

The undenominational omni-partisan organization known as the Anti-Saloon League of America deserves

[19] "Encyclopedia of Social Reform," Bliss, in loco.

[20] "The New Era," "Social Progress," "Challenge of the City," and other works, Josiah Strong, D. D.

[21] "World Almanac." Headquarters, Bible House, New York City.

a place of prominence in the list of Christian Brotherhoods auxiliary to the Churches of the United States. This society sought, it is true, to federate all religious and social organizations for the suppression of the liquor traffic; but as its work was largely political, it was from the first a body of men, clergymen and laymen of the various States of the Union, united in the effort to control, to cripple, and ultimately to destroy the saloon and its attendant institutions.

All students of reform movements are aware that not only local but State temperance societies and movements existed long before the time of the virile Anti-Saloon League. The oldest of the State organizations, now merged into or co-operating with the league, is said to have been the Connecticut Temperance Union. Other institutions of the kind had various names, and the Anti-Saloon League of the District of Columbia was established June 23, 1893, with Samuel H. Walker, a Methodist Episcopal layman of the city of Washington, as president. This was the pioneer society of a National movement which was inaugurated December 18, 1895, at the capital by a delegated convention called by the officers of the League of the District of Columbia. Bishop Luther B. Wilson, of the Methodist Episcopal Church, was a leading spirit and officer both of the earlier society and of its successor.

In Ohio, during the month of September, 1893, Dr. Howard I. Russell, a Congregational minister, founded the State organization, which soon came to be the most effective of the branches of the Anti-Saloon League, and whose work set the example, both in methods and in generous expenditure, for the formation and conduct of other State leagues. A demonstration on a large scale of what could be accomplished by an interpartisan society was greatly needed, and this demonstration the Ohio State Anti-Saloon League was able to make. The

older temperance organizations to which reference has been made changed their names, or methods, to conform with those of the new and aggressive society, and soon the country was largely covered by a closely-knit and determined fraternity of saloon opponents. At the end of the first decade of the work of the Anti-Saloon League, in 1905, including all affiliated bodies, thirty-seven State leagues were reported, and the annual resources of the organization had risen to the sum of $330,479. Twenty-seven State publications, issued by the league, had a combined circulation of over two hundred thousand copies, and over fifty million book pages of literature had been distributed during the tenth year of the society's history. After that date the growth of the league was naturally restricted territorially, but its development within the lines of its organization and in the field of definite anti-saloon endeavor was remarkable.

The Anti-Saloon League naturally made numerous enemies, but a study of their character and deeds reflects far more credit than discredit upon the organization, which continued on its way despite their hostile attitude and their accusations of dishonesty. It is true that in its earlier days the league was not always fortunate in its officers, and a number of men whose previous reputation had been excellent, when subjected to the temptation of large offers from the liquor element and from their friends yielded to these allurements and fell from their allegiance. Better men replaced these traitors to the cause, and the league moved on. By the year 1910 the organization had come to possess over one hundred and thirty offices, it employed in its propaganda six hundred persons, and during that year it distributed more than two million pages of anti-saloon literature.[22]

[22] See "World Almanac and Encyclopedia." Also "Anti-Saloon League Year-Book."

AUXILIARY ASSOCIATIONS

While the Anti-Saloon League of America formed an independent organization, it grew out of the life of the Church, and it became from the first a Church society, laboring for the interests of Christianity by seeking the suppression of the foes of religion and of virtue. In its first decade, by campaigns of education, law enactment, and law enforcement the league succeeded in closing saloons whose total frontage would extend for many miles. The movement had its ebb-and-flow experiences, but in the second decade of its history, under the active superintendence of Dr. P. A. Baker, it produced results even more powerful. If this league had accomplished nothing more, if its actual records of towns and counties cleared of the sale of intoxicants or tightened up in compulsory obedience to liquor laws had not been written, at least it would have been valuable as showing the advantages of the co-operation of Church people on a non-sectarian and unpartisan basis in their strife for righteousness. As a teacher of method in promoting reform the Anti-Saloon League became and remained a highly-valued institution.

The Christian traveling men of America, realizing the mingled temptations and opportunities to do good presented to commercial travelers, July 1, 1899, organized themselves into a society known as the Gideons.[28]

Every one whose memory goes back to the days of the "drummers" of a generation ago will remember what a happy-go-lucky and often dissipated class comprised their greater number. Always moving, free from home restrictions, and without the elevating influence of family and of local Church, subjected to the demand for worldly good fellowship, and expected to treat their prospective customers to liquors and entertainments of a varied sort, it is small wonder that these men yielded

[28] "The Church and Young Men," F. G. Cressey, Ph. D., pp. 128-131, Revell, 1903. Perhaps the earliest book account.

to pressure and fell into habits which earned for the profession an unsavory reputation. Always, of course, men were to be found whose well-fixed principles and rugged integrity were invincible, but the young and the easily-led were carried away from virtue, sobriety, and salvation.

A better day has dawned for American travelingmen. Business conditions and business men have done much to bring this about, and they have been aided by the law of competition and of the "survival of the fittest." The Church and the Young Men's Christian Association have aided the good resolutions of the men, and they have also encouraged them by a greater warmth and friendliness. Christianity has done wonders for the "Knights of the Grip," and especially since many of them organized themselves into a Gideon's Band of Christian brothers.

The fact that one night two previously unacquainted traveling salesmen who were seeking hotel accommodations at Boscobel, Wis., were compelled to occupy the same room was the Providential circumstance which occasioned the organization of "Gideons." The two men who were thus unexpectedly thrown into each other's association were John H. Nicholson of Janesville, Wis., and S. E. Hill of Beloit. When retiring time came, Mr. Nicholson took out his Bible for evening worship, saying that it was his custom to read from God's Word and to pray before he retired. Mr. Hill, who likewise was a Christian man, suggested that his companion read aloud, which was done. Then, after prayer, a conversation began with reference to the Christian life and experience and which was thought by both of its participants to be very profitable.

A few weeks later Mr. Hill and Mr. Nicholson met again, under circumstances which seemed to them indicative of divine arrangement. Their minds reverted

to their former meeting and conversation, and they concluded that some kind of organization ought to be formed which would band together the Christian traveling-men of all classes for their own religious strength and for the purpose of exerting such influence upon others as might bring Christ into their lives.

With the well-known decisiveness of the commercial man, these now fast friends made up their minds that the way to do is to do, and so they called a meeting for counsel and for action. Letters were sent to various men of their acquaintance, but the response was so meager that when the organization was launched, July 1, 1899, at Janesville, Wis., the number of charter members was only three, Mr. W. J. Knights being the first outside recruit. However, the three meant business and, being also encouraged by letters received, they organized and elected each other to the necessary offices. As they were uncertain as to what name ought to represent the movement, they joined in prayer about the matter, and after a few minutes' waiting Mr. Knights exclaimed, "Gideons," and agreement was instant and hearty. Then they read together the Scriptural account of the ancient leader who "was willing to do exactly what God wanted him to do, irrespective of his own judgment as to plans or results."

From that time the three founders of the Gideons began with energy to address others whose interests they desired to obtain, and when in September of the same year at Waukesha, Wis., the organization was completed, the numbers had decidedly increased, and at the present time the badge representing Gideon's pitcher and torch[24] is to be seen in most of the hotels, on the trains of all railway systems, and in all important religious convocations.[25]

[24] The whole idea of the order revolves around the account of Gideon's successful attack upon the Midianites as recounted in Judges, chap. vii.

[25] See tract, "Origin of the Gideons," National Headquarters, 22 W. Quincy St., Chicago.

The formal statement of purpose made by the united Christian commercial travelers is indicative of the spirit and activities of a very aggressive membership. "The object of the Gideons shall be to recognize the Christian traveling men of the world with cordial fellowship; to encourage each other in the Master's work; to improve every opportunity for the betterment of the lives of our fellow travelers, business men, and others with whom we may come in contact; scattering seeds all along the pathway for Christ."[26]

"Any man whose chief occupation is traveling for commercial business, who believes in Jesus Christ as the eternal Son of God, accepts Him as his personal Savior and endeavors to follow Him in his daily life, and who has belonged for three months or longer to some local Church or other religious body that makes such belief and endeavor a condition of membership may become a Gideon by complying with the by-laws governing applications. There shall also be two other classes of members, to be known as sustaining members and associate members, as provided for in the by-laws. Gideons no longer working as commercial travelers may still be considered as active members."[27]

In the working out of Gideon plans it was soon found to be wise to include not only salesmen, but also buyers, collectors, auditors, claim agents, freight and passenger agents, insurance agents, and adjusters in all cases in which business keeps them on the road.

The Gideon organizations are known as camps. A local camp is made up of members whose homes are in a given city or in its vicinity. State camps comprise all members within a given State. Membership is contracted through the National organization only, the general officers being thus brought into direct contact with

[26] National Constitution of the Gideons.

[27] Ibid.

all the members, either in person or by correspondence. Any acquaintance with these men impresses two facts: that the large proportion are men who have been rescued, not usually from the slums, but from the thralldom of vices of the day, and that the members as a whole are devoted to the person of Christ and to His spiritual service. The Church which these men attend is apt to know that they are present, and the prayer-meetings which they enter hear from them. If sometimes they use the "hammer" a little, it is because they want to be sure that their pitchers are broken and their light shining.[28] Their circumstances and views combine to keep them pretty constantly on the firing line, and between themselves is a more than Freemasonry, which tends toward the final and true fraternity for which the Kingdom of Christ is striving and to which it will ultimately come, in which "there is neither East nor West, border nor breed, nor birth."

In many cities where traveling-men in large numbers pass their Sundays the Gideons hold a Sunday night meeting in hotel parlors, or in other rooms which are frequently placed at their disposal without expense to them. These are always gospel services of a distinctively evangelistic character, and frequently they are largely attended and lead to definite religious results. As the membership of the order now numbers well up into the thousands, and as these men are constantly on the move, the Gideon brotherhood is a splendid advertising agency for the distribution of Christian literature. The magazine which represents the body is known as *The Gideon*. Many cards and tracts are used in doing personal work. The most striking undertaking of the Gideons has been their effort to put a copy of the Bible into every hotel bedroom of America. Proprietors of hotels have rarely refused to permit this work to be done, and the

[28] Judges 7: 20.

Churches, after listening to Gideon addresses, have contributed large sums of money to the carrying out of this purpose, so that between one and two hundred thousand copies of the Word of God, secured at special rates through the Bible societies, have been placed where they are certain to be seen by men just before they retire for the night and the first thing on awakening in the morning. Enough evidences of deep religious impressions made through the medium of these Bibles have been obtained to greatly encourage those men who have been active in their distribution. Far greater results of such an enterprise must, however, have occurred than will ever be made known to its authors.

The practical value of the distribution of Bibles by the Gideons has been recognized by many secular journals, sometimes in serious expressions of approval, and sometimes in semi-comic but really commendatory phrases, as in the following editorial of one of the popular magazines: "Of course it is n't a new thing to have Bibles in the hotel bedrooms. The hotels used to have them, but the hotels of twenty-five years ago are mostly gone, and their Bibles with them; and in the new hotels that give you hot and cold everything, telephone, press the button twice for Martini and three times for Manhattan, and all that, we do n't remember to have noticed much provision of Bible. So the work of the Gideons is timely, especially in Boston, where the Bible is historical, and in San Francisco, that lately had an earthquake."[29]

Very interesting is the following statement of effects of Gideon Bible distribution: " 'The Gideons,' the Chris-

[29] "Harper's Weekly," March 11, 1911, which also says: "There is much complaint that the Bible in these days is n't half enough read. Reading is very largely a matter of habit. Hotel bedrooms are good places to surprise people with opportunities to read the Bible, because travelers commonly leave their habits at home, and are ready for new ones."

tian Commercial Travelers' Association of America, have placed over 70,000 Bibles[30] in bedrooms of hotels in the United States and in Canada. The proprietor of a hotel near St. Louis noticed that the introduction of these Bibles resulted in doubling the electric light bill, but said he was willing to have it even larger if occasioned by Bible reading. A young man from Georgia testified: 'I went into my room at a hotel some time ago, and saw on my table a Bible bearing the "Gideon stamp." It was the first Bible I had seen for many years. It reminded me of my mother. I sat down and read it, finding many passages she had read to me in my boyhood days, and I confess that it went to my heart as nothing ever did before. That night I went to prayer-meeting, found Christ, and have been serving Him and reading my Bible ever since.' "[31]

[30] This number was an understatement, as at the time of its making considerably more than 100,000 Bibles had been placed.

[31] "Men's Record and Missionary Review," October, 1911.

XVI

DEMOCRATIC BROTHERHOODS OF BRITAIN

PLEASANT SUNDAY AFTERNOON MOVEMENT

"BROTHERHOOD AND DEMOCRACY," to use the title of the work which represents the movement,[1] have for some years been fostered in Great Britain by an organization which now claims more than half a million members, gathered from "all sorts and conditions of men." The title of this society, the Pleasant Sunday Afternoon Brotherhood, gives no adequate impression of the serious religious-social purpose which underlies its efforts. The attempt is nothing less than to teach a "democratic religion" leading to a "practical Christianity" full of love and of good works. The ultimate aim is a social state which shall bring upon earth the Kingdom of Christ, and whose benefits shall be universally distributed.

The motif which underlies the actual achievements and the future plans of this brotherhood was very clearly stated by an able representative at one of the great conferences of the organization. "In a very real sense the Brotherhood Movement represents a new departure in the development of society. There have, of course, been many democratic combinations in the past, but they have usually been for the purpose of defense against oppression, or for some specific purpose. Generally speaking, the object has been entirely material. Take the case of the trade union movement as an ex-

[1] "Brotherhood and Democracy," William Ward. Pleasant Sunday Afternoon Brotherhood Publishing House, London.

ample. Here the people came together for a common purpose of defense. They realized that in their struggle with capital their only protection was the right of collective action and bargaining, and that in order to secure and develop that right they must make common cause. No doubt the movement developed a cohesive and, in some degree, altruistic spirit among its followers, but its *raison d'etre* was purely the attainment of material things. Take the case of the co-operative movement. No doubt there was in the early days of this movement a spirit of idealism at work among its founders; but its drift soon became very definitely material, and, though it would be difficult to exaggerate the service it has performed to society, there can be no doubt in the mind of any one who studies the movement that that drift has continued. So one might continue with many other movements of the last century: the Friendly Societies, which were an attempt on the part of the poor to protect themselves against the most familiar attacks on human happiness; and the old Mechanics' Institute movement, which was an attempt to open to the poor that book of knowledge which in those days was closed to all except the prosperous. That was a noble ideal; but it was primarily intellectual and had little to do with the idea of social betterment.

"Now, that is the root idea, implicit even if not stated, of the Brotherhood Movement. It has not emerged, like trade unionism, out of specific industrial conditions, nor like co-operation of friendly societies, from the very healthy desire to protect one's self against the blows of Fate and to secure the profits of one's trading for one's self. It has emerged out of a definite desire to make the world a better world for man's brief earthly dwelling. It is an instinctive attempt to get back to the primitive ideals of Christianity. Those

ideals were the brotherhood of men and the establishment of the divine will *'on earth,* as it is in heaven.' The failure of the Churches has too often been in leaving 'the earth' out—in divorcing religion from secular affairs; in keeping it in a Sunday water-tight compartment, away from the contamination of the weekday world. Now, a religion that is thus isolated from the common things of life is a religion that is dead. Religion, to be vital, must not only set out to change the heart of the individual; it must set out to change the heart of society. Do not let me be misunderstood. Do not let us, in our zeal for social justice, forget that our first duty is to cultivate our own garden. The Kingdom of God is within us, and no perfect social machine will ever bring peace to the heart that is filled with envy and hate and selfishness.

> 'The mind is its own place, and in itself
> Can make a heaven of hell, a hell of heaven.'

This is profoundly true. But there is another truth, and it is this: that before you can appeal to the soul of a man you must give him conditions in which the soul can live and grow."[2]

With this clearly-defined conception of the fundamental principle of the brotherhood before the mind, the history of the movement will be more illuminating. Several years since an international crusade was undertaken by the English brotherhoods, and companies numbering as high as two hundred and fifty persons of all social classes went to various continental cities to bring to European working-men the message of Chris-

[2] Mr. A. G. Gardiner, Editor "Daily News," London, September, 1911. Reported in the organ of the movement, "The P. S. A. Brotherhood Journal," for October. See also "The Brotherhood Year-Book." "The Christian Commonwealth," 113 Salisbury Square, London, E. C., is another medium used by the brotherhood to set forth its religious-social ideals.

tian democracy. Many of these persons paid their own expenses on these trips, and for them some made considerable sacrifice. At Lille, the industrial center of Northern France, a handbill, used also at Liège in Belgium for the same purpose, set forth in terse sentences the principles which the brotherhoods wished to proclaim to their continental friends, and which give the core of the movement.

At the bottom of the bill, printed in large letters, are the words: "Jésus Christ—Solidarité—Fraternité—Mutualité—Bonheur—Prosperité—Confiance. Paix Entre Les Peuples."

The body of the circular contained, first, the statements referred to, and then a description of the organization and activities of the societies.

"Nous représentons *plus de 2,000 sociétiés et plus de 500,000 membres.*

Notre Association est *laique.* C'est nous qui élisons chaque année nos chefs qui ne reçoivent aucune rémunération pour leurs services.

Nous sommes anticléricaux, en ce sens que nous reponssons et combattons toute domination ecclésiastique. La seule religion vraie est pour nous celle qui aide l'homme à devenir meilleur.

Nous ne réclamons de nos membres aucune déclation de foi.

Nous somme mécontents de l'etat social actuel, et nous étudions tous les problèmes sociaux à lumière de l'Evangile avec la volonté de les résondre.

Nous attendons de nouveaux cieux et une nouvelle terre où la justice habitera.

Notre foi est en Dieu le Père.

Notre devise est: Nous n'avons qu'un seul Maitre, Jésus-Christ, et tous les hommes sont frères.

Notre règle de vie est cette parole de Jésus-Christ dans le Nouveau Testament: "Aimez vous les uns les autres."

Next follows the statement that each society or brotherhood is divided into different sections, and the outline of organization is presented:

SECTIONS DE CHAQUE SOCIÉTÉ

Comité de propagande;
Comité pour visitor régulièrement les membres;
Fonds de secours pour les membres malades et sans travail (mutualité);
Bourse de travail (bureau de placement);
Caisse d'éppargue mutuelle;
Caisse d'excursions;
Societè de tempérance;
Societè de débats;
Societè de sports;
Choer et orchestre, lesquels se font entendre à toutes nos rèunions.

Evidently this manifesto[3] attracted great attention in the manufacturing districts in which it was circulated. This proclamation of a lay brotherhood, free from ecclesiastical domination and a specific creed, but believing in the Fatherhood of God and in the Kingdom of Jesus Christ, proved to be not an ineffective appeal, even to the unchurched and radical workingmen of Lille and Liège. A description of the meeting at Lille, written by Professor Paul Passy of Paris, and printed in the monthly magazine of which he is editor,[4] gives a vivid sense of the effect produced. The streets were crowded when the British company arrived at the railway station. So dense was the throng that these Christian crusaders could hardly make their way to the Bourse du Travail, where the working-class organizations of the district awaited their coming. Even the house windows were filled with people, and it was with considerable difficulty that the British invaders could get into the place of meeting, outside of which five or six thousand disappointed people clamored for entrance. An overflow meeting had to be organized, and the inside speakers, after finishing their addresses, repeated them in the open air. Of the speech of Keir Hardie, the leader of the British Labor Party, who gave a

[3] The complete handbill is printed in "Brotherhood and Democracy," p. 119.

[4] "L'Espoir du Monde." The article is entitled "The Dawn." The author is known in Europe as an ardent social reformer and advocate of Christianity.

plain avowal of the influence of Jesus Christ upon his own life and of the value of Christianity to laboring men,[5] Professor Passy says: "The most important feature was the fine speech by Mr. Keir Hardie, embodying in magnificent language both the social and spiritual aspirations of the working-classes, and indicating what their attitude should be with regard to Christ. In spite of its beauty, however, it was not this speech which interested me most. It was the attitude of the crowd, of these some two thousand socialist workingmen, who listened to this teaching so new to them; it was this I observed with such a keen emotion. It was easy to follow the feelings with which they were animated. At first they listened with wonder; then they were perplexed; then began to mistrust. These men spoke of God, of Jesus Christ, of the Gospel; were they 'gammoning?' Was it not some ruse, some dodge to wheedle these poor men, in order to put them in the bondage of some other form of ecclesiasticism?

"They were soon reassured, however. This man with the strenuous and yet kindly aspect who was before them, was it not Keir Hardie, the old collier, whose devotion to the working classes has been affirmed a thousand times? Were not those who were gathered round him Delory and Ghesquiere, their own socialist members of Parliament; V. Renard, the well-known authority on labor questions? No! there was no need to fear a trap; they might rest assured that their own impressions would guide them correctly.

"And then, marvelous thing! The religious instinct awakened in these poor men, all the stronger, perhaps, because it had been lying dormant for so long a time; and they heard with increasing interest the Christian statements of the orators. Then the interest turned to approval which gradually became more and more ar-

[5] "Brotherhood and Democracy," ut supra, p. 110.

dent; and towards the end of Keir Hardie's speech it was with stampings of enthusiasm that these men who both call themselves and believe themselves to be materialists, cheered the words of the old Scotch tribune on the Fatherhood of God and the work of Jesus Christ. For a moment it seemed as if the people had rediscovered their Savior.

"I said 'for a moment.' Who can tell how deep the impressions then received were, or how lasting they will be? Who can tell what will follow on this beautiful Whitsun holiday?

"However, I feel that I am perfectly right in saying that a breach has been made in the thick ramparts of prejudice which separate our people from the true gospel. All those who applauded the brotherhood orators at Lille can now say in all sincerity: 'It is not true that a man who believes in God, who loves Jesus Christ, is necessarily a participator in exploitation and tyranny. A man can say, as Keir Hardie said, that it is the spirit of Christ which leads men to take up the cause of the oppressed without being a hypocrite or an imbecile.' And many will undoubtedly realize the necessity of making himself well acquainted with this Christ whom he has hitherto ignored. This will probably be the dawn of a new era."

Paris, Brussels, and Charleroi are among the continental cities which have been visited by the brotherhood and in which unique and remarkable events have occurred leading to the formation of a number of local societies and to the awakening of interest in the teachings of Christ.

What, then, is the somewhat trivially named Pleasant Sunday Afternoon Brotherhood in the land of its nativity, and how did it arise? Under the caption, "The Evolution of the Movement," the brotherhood historian turns his retrospective thought to the work of John

Wesley and the evangelical preachers of two centuries ago, describing the effect of their teachings upon the democracy.[6] He also refers to the origination of Sunday schools under Robert Raikes, and to the Quaker Robert Lancaster's scheme of universal education, which in 1870 was brought to a practical result by the efforts of another Quaker, Right Hon. W. E. Forster, who succeeded in passing with compulsory clauses the General Education Act. These movements, he thinks, lend a background and furnished inspiration to the idea which came to John Blackham of West Bromwich in the year 1875. This Congregational deacon, thinks Mr. Ward, anticipated G. K. Chesterton's thought, which "he is continually dinning into our ears, that a Christian ought not to be a morose, sad, or pessimistic individual, but one of the happiest, one of the jolliest fellows alive; that religious ways should be ways of pleasantness."[7] Mr. Blackham went to Birmingham to hear Moody, but could not get in. "I asked," he has said, "where I could see the largest Bible class at work. Following the directions given to me, I came to a room where about thirty-five young fellows were assembled, listening to their teacher, a magnificent man, with a marvelous store of information. His address was so long and so good that my head and back ached with the prolonged attention. I went home pondering the problem. I wondered how it was that Moody could get an audience of four thousand, while this splendid Bible-class teacher could only draw about thirty, and as I thought upon this the first light broke in, and I saw clearly why we had failed, and how we might succeed. I learnt how not to do it. I realized that if the men were to be won, we must give them a service neither too long nor too learned. We must avoid dullness, prolixity, gloom, and restraint."

[6] "Brotherhood and Democracy," p. 125 ff.

[7] Op. cit., p. 127.

The superficiality of this diagnosis of the disparity between Moody's ephemeral campaign and the Bible teacher's intensive and permanent work will be at once remarked by the reader. Second thought, however, convinces one that much may be said for the determination to avoid lengthy cheerlessness and heaviness in efforts to reach men.

Mr. Blackham was so convinced that by the converse of these qualities men could be drawn to religious services in masses that he requested the superintendent of his home Sunday school to call a meeting of its officials, to whom he explained his new convictions and asked for a free hand and cordial support in an effort to realize his ideals. Consent was readily given. By a button-holing campaign without any public advertisement one hundred and twenty men were gathered for the first meeting. While "tackling" men on the street in order to get them to the meeting Mr. Blackham fell to saying: "Look here, I am going to start a Pleasant Sunday Afternoon Class; it will be short and bright, and will only last three-quarters of an hour. Will you come next Sunday and see how you like it?" This name, used accidentally or, as Mr. Blackham thought, providentially, became attached to the new society.[8] "Brief, Bright, and Brotherly," was Mr. Blackham's statement of the characteristics of his work, and he adopted also the Scriptural motto, "One is your Master, even Christ, and all ye are brethren."

The first society was followed almost immediately by others, until several hundreds of brotherhoods were established in the Midlands. Many of these and of the

[8] Another name is used by these societies. Dr. Rufus W. Miller, of the Brotherhood of Andrew and Philip, describing in the "Brotherhood Star" a visit to the English brotherhoods, says: "The most widely known men's organization, however, is known either as The Pleasant Sunday Afternoon Brotherhood, or The Men's Own. These brotherhoods are found in all the dissenting Churches—that is Baptist, Congregationalist, Presbyterian, and Wesleyan Churches."

later societies have large memberships, as will be noted from the various statements, giving such figures as: Ilford, over 2,000; Marsh Lane, Bootle, over 700; Salisbury, Wesleyan, 600; Salem, Leeds, 2,000; East Ham, over 2,600. Some of the largest of these societies began with small numbers and with no great encouragement, and of one which has never attained great size a laboring man, being asked "What kind of a brotherhood have you got?"—replied, "Well, taking everything into consideration, it 's the finest brotherhood in England, bar none."[9]

In 1885 Mr. Blackham was invited by Mr. Henry Thorne, traveling secretary of the Young Men's Christian Association, to begin a national advocacy of the movement which he had started. He acceded to Mr. Thorne's special request that he inaugurate his larger work at Derby, and from that place the brotherhood spread to Nottingham, Leicester, Sheffield, Manchester, and elsewhere.

A national council of the brotherhood was formed at a conference held at Birmingham in 1905. The first president was the noted Rev. F. B. Meyer, who acted for two years as the head of the organization. In most of the centers of Great Britain the societies are yoked together in city, county, and district federations, that in London for a long time increased at the rate of a new society a week. Numerous societies have also been organized in Canada, where a National Council was formed in 1912, Australia, New Zealand, the United States, South and West Africa. Great and numerous sisterhoods have been organized and are allied to the men's societies in many places. The majority of the brotherhoods hold their meetings in the churches of the various denominations, but some are lodged in halls, theaters, or in special buildings of their own. Among

[9] "Brotherhood and Democracy," op. cit., p. 192.

the activities in which various organizations have engaged are civic and temperance work, public-house invasion and evangelism, relief work of the most practical kind, emigrant care, concerts and entertainments, thrift and mutual aid, classes for the study of the Bible and of social and economic questions, Church improvement; indeed, in various places about all the forms of work possible in societies of the kind.[10]

One of the strongest branches of the Pleasant Sunday Afternoon Brotherhood is that of Scotland, which is now known as the Scottish Brotherhood Union. The credit of the introduction of the organization into the northern kingdom is due to the St. Thomas' Wesleyan Brotherhood, Glasgow, formed in 1894, with fifty men, and which soon grew to have a thousand members. In the same year at the Canal Boatmen's Institute, Port Dundas, the second Scottish brotherhood was established, largely through the influence of a remarkable character of whom Mr. Moody said, "Never have I known a man who, in my opinion, lived nearer the Master or sought to do His will more fully."[11] When the idea of a brotherhood for Port Dundas was suggested to Professor Henry Drummond "this 'friend of men' saw a great opportunity in the proposal and had the 'men's meeting' started at once, himself becoming the first president and giving the three opening addresses."[12] This society still continues with evidences of usefulness.

From the two pioneer organizations named the modern Scottish brotherhood has grown. In 1912, sixteen years after the first society was formed, the city of

[10] Illustrative incidents revealing the definite features of this work are found in the closing chapter of "Brotherhood and Democracy," "Stories from Life," pp. 183-212, and also in the collections of "Notes on Illustrations," "Brotherhood Religious and Social Activities," which follows.

[11] Vide "Life of Henry Drummond," George Adam Smith, p. 9.

[12] Program and Prospectus of the Scottish Brotherhood Conference, Edinburgh, November 11, 1911, p. 14 ff.

Edinburgh alone reported over eight thousand members.[18] At the same time the west of Scotland and the Glasgow and district federations had over forty brotherhoods, fifteen meetings on the Fife Coast had attained much strength, and the power of the movement was indicated by the following typical memberships of leading organizations: St. Mark's Institutional Church Brotherhood, Glasgow, 1,000; Fountainbridge, Edinburgh, the first brotherhood of that city, 600; Leith Brotherhood, 1,022; Institutional Church, Aberdeen, 750; Denburn, 750; Forfar, 400; Wick, 700. When the Scottish union was fully consummated at Edinburgh in 1911, one hundred and forty of these brotherhoods were represented, and the effect of the work done by them during the first two decades of the movement is thus expressed: "Both highlands and lowlands have been touched and, we believe, been bettered by it. In its train it has brought music and gladness, enlightenment and hope to all, books and benefits to most, and holidays to some. Encouragement to men in difficult places, and to women who had lost hope. Home problems have been solved, fires kindled, and cupboards stocked. Suits have been measured for, and bank accounts opened. Brotherhood used to be a word heard of in song and story and too seldom realized. Now it lives and moves up and down our land with hands of helpfulness outstretched and arms that are long and strong. Masters and men have shaken hands, and rich and poor have labored shoulder to shoulder in the uplifting of the brother who was down. Good old Sunday habits have been revived, and family altars restored. Neglected Bibles have been read, or new ones obtained, and the church bells have now a joyous sound, where once they had no charm. But best of all, men who were sitting in darkness and in the shadow of death have seen a Great Light and have risen

[18] Annual report of William Cairns, president.

up to welcome it, and are now walking in the Gleam! And the Good Physician has drawn near to these expectant crowds of laboring men on the first day of the week, and laid His hand upon lives that were drifting and wasting, and cleansed and healed and claimed them for Himself. To-day, thanks to the Brotherhood Movement in Scotland, we have battalions of men who have been won from the ranks of indifference now facing the world of Soldiers of the Cross."[14]

A publication of the Morningside Brotherhood, of Edinburgh, ascribes the success which has attended the society's history to the fact that it is: "1. A band of brothers; 2. A religion that means business; 3. All for each and each for all; 4. In defense of the home." Another expression, of the same source, answers the question, What is the Movement? as follows: "1. A great movement of Christian Democracy; 2. A great movement of Christian Brotherhood; 3. A great movement of Christian Cheerfulness." Each of the above statements is set forth with explanatory details.[15]

The criticisms which have been made on the Pleasant Sunday Afternoon Brotherhoods are answered in the Brotherhood Message by the president.[16] It has been said that the Sunday afternoon meetings are simply entertainments, the men coming to be amused. The answer is made, "Come and see," and with this is joined the statement, "It often happened that 'those who came to scoff, remained to pray.'" The charge of being political rather than religious is denied, and it is shown that the concern is to make good citizens and to get men to look upon the use of their vote as a religious act. The accusation of hostility to the Churches is met by the

[14] "Scottish Brotherhood Conference," p. 30.

[15] This is really a stock pamphlet issued by the National Council, and adapted to local uses by the insertion of the notices of individual brotherhoods.

[16] Op. cit., pp. 163, 164.

statement that most of the meetings are held in places of worship, nearly two thousand of which have been placed freely at the disposal of the brotherhood.[17] The real difficulty of the organization, as conceived by its chief officer, is that the ranks contain what on the surface appear to be two distinct schools of religious thought,[18] the individualistic and the social. To this seeming division he addresses his earnest thought with the purpose of showing that the same seeming diversity of views existed in the Apostolic Church, and that it finds reconciliation in the synthetic teaching of Jesus and of several of His chief followers.

To come back to the point of starting, it is evident that in the conception of many of its promoters this brotherhood is far more than a pleasant Sunday afternoon matter; moreover, it is quite apart from ordinary parish brotherhoods whose eyes are not lifted much higher than the common round of community matters and the local benevolences. This society, in the minds of many of its admirers, is a new Socialism of Christian inspiration and purpose. To quote a few of its *mots d'usage,* it is said to introduce "a new and important factor in the religious life of the nation."[19] It is called

[17] An intelligent young English pastor gives me the opinion that in many cases the Brotherhood is no help to the Church, and that the chief local offices are apt to get into the hands of men of social and political popularity who have little religious character or interest. Natural leaders, he appears to think, often usurp the places of spiritual leadership, and they turn the movement away from the culture of such Christian faith as adds to Church membership and to the vital progress of the Kingdom. On the other hand, a thoughtful British Wesleyan pastor, Rev. John H. Goodman, of London, has informed me that while it must be admitted that the serious problem is that from a Church standpoint the brotherhoods add little, yet they are felt to be worthy of support as having teaching value and as tending to raise the tone of citizenship. Rev. James Lewis, of Cambridge, to whose considerateness, as to that of several others, the use of considerable literature has been due, said to me much the same. Sir W. R. Nicoll, in his address on "A Challenge to the Brotherhood Movement," speaks high praise, but urges better use of its power.

[18] Ibid, pp. 165-174.

[19] "Brotherhood and Democracy," p. 18.

"a new factor in religion." It is "Democracy and Christianity." "As we get a firm grasp of the essential basis of the ethical teaching of the Carpenter of Nazareth we are convinced that it contains those principles of life and conduct which alone will give a perfect solution to every social problem, and that as the democracy yearns and strives for the opportunity to live the full, free, unfettered life God intended every man should enjoy, instead of rejecting Christianity they will embrace it as the means of their social salvation." "In the Brotherhood Movement we have taken the Lord's Prayer as our charter, and in that prayer we pray for everybody. 'When ye pray, say, "Our Father."' You have there distinctly laid down the idea of the universal brotherhood of man based on the idea of the common Fatherhood of God. The prayer includes the whole human race. One of the outstanding petitions is that which says, 'Give us this day our daily bread.' If we are praying for everybody, then the unemployed are included in our petition." "Do you see the great principle that Jesus Christ here lays down? He declares it to be a vital part of his teaching that every man should have the chance of earning his living, not as a charity or a privilege bestowed on him by some other man, but as a divine right. Will the democracy reject that?" "I wish I could prevail on you men to make a thorough study of the teaching of the Bible on the Land Question." "Read carefully the enactments of Moses the great Lawgiver and see how we have deviated in almost every essential principle from his teaching, with the result that there exists among us to-day such a state of poverty among the masses of the people as was utterly impossible under his teaching. Give your days and nights to a study of the twenty-fourth chapter of the Book of Job. The writer of that ancient classic pronounces a curse on those who deprive the people

of their God-given inheritance in the land, and shows how a landless people leads to other forms of robbery and violence, to poverty and destitution, to sweating and oppression, to slums and overcrowding in cities, to the formation of a criminal class, and practically all the social evils that are the curse of modern society." "There is an evolutionary process going on for the redemption of humanity, and the keynote of the twentieth century is being sounded by the men and women of the Brotherhood Movement. Instead of every man for himself, as it has been in the past, it will be every man for his brother. That is to be the keynote of the new order, prophesied by the prophets, depicted by the seers, sung for us by the poets; the Golden Age when there shall be no poverty, no iniquity, no oppression, no man trampling on his fellow-men, but peace and righteousness and joy in the Holy Ghost will be the dominating characteristics of the world." "'And all flesh shall see it together.' There shall not be a man, woman, or child on God's earth deprived of their rightful privilege of a fair share of all the good gifts which He has provided. This glorious world with all its boundless resources, with its abundance of food and clothing and all the necessities of life; all the heritage of the ages, the best there is in art, in science, in literature, in philosophy, shall be freely at the disposal of everybody. 'All flesh shall see it together.' I have the firm conviction that this great Brotherhood Movement, of which every member of this society is a unit, has been raised up by God to play an important part in the realization of the prophet's vision."[20]

Who that reads these utterances of an able and eloquent lay speaker will wonder that the address closed

[20] Excerpts from an address, "Will the Democracy Reject Christianity?" given by a journalist at a regular brotherhood meeting. op. cit., pp. 32-46.

in a tumult of applause, or that after singing the first verse of Felix Adler's "Golden City" the men spontaneously insisted on finishing the hymn:

"Sing we of the Golden City,
Pictured in the legends old;
Everlasting light shines o'er it,
Wondrous things of it are told.
Only righteous men and women
Dwell within its gleaming walls;
Wrong is banished from its borders,
Justice reigns throughout its halls.

"We are builders of that City,
All our joys and all our groans
Help to rear its shining ramparts;
All our lives are building-stones.
For that City we must labour,
For its sake bear pain and grief,
In it find the end of living,
And the anchor of belief.

"And the work that we have builded,
Oft with bleeding hands and tears,
Oft in error, oft in anguish,
Will not perish with our years.
It will last, and shine transfigured,
In the final reign of Right;
It will pass into the splendours
Of the City of the Light."[21]

It was a strange chance which brought Mr. Ward's book of "Christian Democracy" into my hands at a summer camp on the beautiful Straits of Mackinaw at the precise moment when all Great Britain was breaking out into the bitterness of an industrial war, into which I thought no doubt many of the half million Christian brotherhood men must be plunging. How does the

[21] "The Fellowship Hymn Book," used by the Pleasant Sunday Afternoon Brotherhood conjointly with the National Adult Bible School Council, and prepared by these two bodies, contains 336 hymns, including with the older selections many new and progressive socialistic selections.

peace ideal, I queried, and how do the fine-spun theories of unselfishness and the enthusiasm for love which characterize this movement comport with this bitter strike, and its apparent disregard of human needs and rights? Will the outcome be such as to convince men of the certainty of a bread-and-butter salvation to those who strive? Or will it plunge the working classes into opposition to Christ, since they must oppose many who claim to be His followers and representatives? Will the result be faith in God or faith in man and in combinations of men? Spirituality or materialism, which will triumph?[22]

Thus in those days I thought, and thus I still think, for not by one victory, nor by one failure, nor by many of both of these results will the battles for human comfort and for divine confidence be won. And since the progress of civilization and of universal betterment will be uncertain, and its results slow, will the democratic brotherhood realize its worldly ambitions, and thus bring faith to all hungry and weary toilers, or will it lose heart and, having placed its faith in Utopia, grow faint of heart and doubtful, and perhaps turn its back on God? Who can say?

Meantime this brotherhood has done great good to many individuals, who have been won from sin by its efforts; it has preached much gospel which is on a plane above the reach of physical conditions and disasters; and it is much to have stirred such an interest in the hearts of the people[23] as would lead a man like George Adam

[22] The prompt action of the British Government in effecting the settlement of the strike by arbitration did not materially alter the tenor of the reflections which this matter brings up, and the lapse of time and the events which have since occurred have not persuaded me to rewrite the passage.

[23] "Zion's Herald," Boston, Methodist Episcopal, in an editorial, August 23, 1911, declared: "The brotherhood organizations in England are doing what they can to help the common people to love, while not misusing their Sundays. It is believed that much mischief arises from a monotonous Sunday—indeed, also, from a monotonous life. Such

Smith to aver that "nothing has been seen like it since the Reformation."[24] Perhaps this brotherhood, like many another society, may apparently fail and pass, but even then it may be found that it has uttered a true message and has marked the path of progress by which the universe is surely coming to new heavens and a new earth.[25]

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monotony leads too often, by reaction from its dullness, when the arresting demands of labor are periodically intermitted, to drink and to vice. The 'Pleasant Sunday Afternoons' inaugurated in England, while exposed to some criticism on the part of certain evangelists, are not devoid of religious exercises, while they are for the most part permeated with a religious spirit. While a certain elasticity is allowed by the leaders to the term 'religious,' in general it may be said that the Sunday afternoon hour so spent is really 'pleasant,' while morally stimulating to the people who attend the 'Pleasant Sunday Afternoon' gathering."

[24] "Brotherhood and Democracy," Ibid, p. 160.

[25] Two British Wesleyan ministers, Rev. Wm. Bradfield, of Ilkley, and Rev. George H. McNeal, of Sheffield, first informed me of the changes which have been occasioned by the development of this movement in the direction of closer Church affiliation, and of less spectacular as well as more vital brotherhood. See chapter xviii.

XVII

INTERDENOMINATIONAL BROTHERHOODS

ANDREW AND PHILIP—BARACA UNION

At a little later period than that of the organization of the brotherhoods described in the preceding chapter, interdenominational brotherhoods arose in America differing from these societies in that they work principally within the lines of individual Churches and in accordance with the views of the particular bodies to which they belong, yet are loosely held together and but generally governed and directed by the medium of a central office and by conventions. These societies are comparatively modern, and the first of them to which attention is called is the Brotherhood of Andrew and Philip.

"For a web begun, God sends thread," say the French and Italians, and Rufus W. Miller, associate pastor of the Second Reformed Church, Reading, Pa., furnished one of the illustrations of this fact. The first Brotherhood of Andrew and Philip is said to have existed in Scotland, and the relation of that society to the Brotherhood of St. Andrew appears in histories of the latter. In turn the Brotherhood of St. Andrew had its influence upon the mind of Dr. Miller, who on May 4, 1888, proposed to a Bible class[1] of fifteen young men that they adopt the St. Andrew rules of prayer and of service, and take the name of Brotherhood of An-

[1] "Both the St. Andrew Brotherhood and the Brotherhood of Andrew and Philip originated in young men's Bible classes." "Brotherhood Star," January, 1900.

drew and Philip.[2] With no thought of extension, and "solely with reference to the needs of one little group of young men, a chapter was formed which was to be known as the first in a long series and the pioneer of a new movement in the evangelical Churches."[3]

The history of the development of societies from a nucleus is a very similar one. The first chapter of the new fraternity very soon inspired the formation of others, fifteen of which joined in a union with the parent chapter, the second convention, held in Philadelphia in 1890, revealing the fact that there were thirty-five chapters and a thousand men in the movement. A publication to be known as the *Brotherhood Star* was authorized, and from a four-page monthly it grew into a very creditable magazine. The idea of a federation of chapters representing various denominations was also favorably considered at the Philadelphia meeting.

At the fourth convention, Bethlehem, Pa., 1892, definite action was taken looking to a federal constitution, and the same year saw a Federal Council of Reformed and Congregational Chapters formed in New York City. The Federal Constitution was here drawn up. At the Marble Collegiate Reformed Church, New York, in 1893, the first federal convention was held, and it marked the completion of the general organization and plan of the Brotherhood of Andrew and Philip, which is now said to be represented by chapters in more than a score of denominations, some of which, however, were but slightly enlisted in the movement. Several denominations formed their own executive councils.

A clear idea of the purpose of this order and of its general membership may be obtained from the following

[2] "It comprehends the essential features of the Brotherhood of St. Andrew, but is interdenominational." "Modern Methods in Church Work," Mead, 166.

[3] "Manual of the Brotherhood of Andrew and Philip," Brotherhood Press.

official statements: "Object and Rules. Section 1. The object of the Brotherhood of Andrew and Philip is the spread of Christ's Kingdom among men and boys by all appropriate methods. Section 2. The fundamentals of the Brotherhood are the Rule of Prayer and Rule of Service. The Rule of Prayer is to pray daily for the spread of Christ's Kingdom among men and for God's blessing upon the labors of the Brotherhood. The Rule of Service is to make personal efforts to bring men and boys within hearing of the gospel of Jesus Christ, as set forth in the services of the Church, prayer-meeting, and men's Bible classes. Section 3. The Brotherhood, recognizing that men and boys have fourfold natures, physical, mental, social, and religious, urges its members to be concerned for the development of the whole man, and to manifest the spirit of Christian comradeship in all the relations of life. Membership. Section 1. Membership in the Brotherhood of Andrew and Philip shall consist of two classes, as follows: Section 2. Chartered Brotherhood Chapters. Any organization of men and boys in a congregation or mission of any evangelical Church having subscribed to the provisions of Article II shall, on the payment of five dollars and having the approval of the minister or officers in charge of the Church or mission, be entitled to enrollment and a charter, and so to become a Chapter of the Brotherhood of Andrew and Philip, and as such to obtain representation at conferences and conventions of the Brotherhood. Section 3. Contributing members: (a) Individuals paying to the International Council five (5) dollars annually shall be termed Annual members. (b) Individuals paying to the International Council ten (10) dollars annually shall be termed Sustaining members. (c) Individuals paying to the International Council one hundred (100) dollars or more shall be termed Honorary members. All contributing members shall subscribe to this

constitution and be elected by the International Council."[4]

The Brotherhood of Andrew and Philip made much of Christian unity. "In the federal council and at federal conventions the representatives of the chapters in all denominations consider how all may more efficiently work together as one body in Christ"[5] The badge adopted was a five-pointed star, surrounded by the letters of the brotherhood name. This brotherhood motto was selected, "They that be wise shall shine as the brightness of the firmament, and they that turn many to righteousness as the stars for ever and ever."[6]

While this fraternity placed first emphasis on spiritual work, other than distinctively spiritual means of service were recognized as being legitimate and helpful.[7] Free reading-rooms, gymnasiums, boys' clubs, debating and literary societies, lectures, and philanthropic work were undertaken by various chapters, which at the latest report numbered well into the second thousand, and which was said to represent about fifty thousand men. The booklet on "Men's Work for Men," published by the brotherhood, contained excellent suggestions and showed a good spirit.

The most noted of the early chapters of the Brotherhood of Andrew and Philip was probably that connected with Bethany Church, Philadelphia, and the history of which was written some years since by Dr. J. Wilbur Chapman: "I had just accepted the pastorate of this important Church and was standing at the foot of the pulpit steps one morning after I had preached my sermon when an aged man passed along and, taking me

[4] Constitution of the Brotherhood of Andrew and Philip.

[5] "Manual of the Brotherhood of Andrew and Philip," published with other literature from the headquarters at Fifteenth and Race Sts., Philadelphia.

[6] Daniel 12: 3.

[7] Cressey, "The Church and Young Men," p. 120.

by the hand, said: 'Well, sir, I am very much afraid that you will make this pastorate a failure. I certainly know that you will without help. We have had distinguished men here as pastors of this Church, and you are young, and I tremble for you; but I have stopped to say to you that I am going to help you.' It seemed almost ridiculous, and I wondered what this old man could do for me. Then he said, 'I have covenanted with two other men to pray for you so long as you are the pastor of this Church, and we have determined to ask that God will make you a winner of souls.' Then I looked about the great church with eyes filled with tears, and knew in my heart that God was going to give us a manifestation of His presence and power in that work. The three men became ten, the ten grew to twenty, the twenty numbered one hundred, and the 'Brotherhood' grew until at last it came to be true that every Sunday morning from 9.45 to 10.45 from four to six hundred men met for prayer and conference. The meetings were thrilling in their interest. Not a service was held without conversions. The men prayed for God's blessing upon me as their pastor. They frequently accompanied me into the church. They sometimes formed a great choir in the gallery and sang with great effect. Again, they occupied seats in different parts of the house and watched for souls. They stood by me when I preached on the streets. They went with me as a great army when I conducted meetings in another part of the city. They still stand close to me in their affections. When I was called away from the church, so important was the service deemed to be that Hon. John Wanamaker, the senior elder of the Church and the honored superintendent of the Bethany Sunday School, decided to give a portion of his valuable time to the 'brotherhood' work. He now meets with the men every Sunday morning. He has aided them in erecting

a clubhouse to which they have free access, and he himself has publicly said that there is no greater work to be accomplished to-day by the ministers and Church officers than the work in the interests of men. To one seeking the best organization for such work I would say, Study the principles of this 'Brotherhood of Andrew and Philip.' "[8]

The Brotherhood of the Red Diamond was organized in 1898, as an interdenominational society for boys of from twelve to fifteen years.[9] Several other societies of this kind have been formed in the Churches: Knights of King Arthur, of the Round Table, of the Holy Grail, and like names being used by these societies of men-to-be.

An organization which has made a widely-extended effort to form and to develop into higher usefulness young men's Bible classes is called the Baraca Union. This interdenominational men's work was instituted by a Christian layman of Syracuse, N. Y., Mr. Marshall A. Hudson. Charles G. Trumbull in "The Man Who Wants a Million" relates a number of incidents in the life of Mr. Hudson which are most interesting. The first narrative is that of a call to personal responsibility for another life. "A young man of thirty-three," says Mr. Trumbull, "was addressing his first public meeting on the subject of religion. He had been just four weeks a Christian. Because he was well known commercially, the Young Men's Christian Association hall where he was to speak was crowded with merchants and clerks. Telling with enthusiasm of his new-found Savior, the young convert said that Christian people ought to speak of Christ to others oftener than they do, and seek to win men individually to Christ. 'If you know a man whom God tells you to speak to, and to whom you feel you can't go yourself,' said he, 'send some one else after

[8] "Fishing for Men," J. W. Chapman, D. D., p. 15, et seq.

[9] "World Almanac and Encyclopedia."

him. I did that very thing last week.' This was in Syracuse. In the audience sat George G. Truair, then and for many years afterward editor of the Syracuse *Evening Journal.* As the speaker reached this point, Mr. Truair rose suddenly to his feet and called out: 'Mr. Hudson, you are young in the Christian life yet, and I want to ask you a question. Did the man you sent to the other man, to whom God had told you to go and speak, bring him to Christ?' 'No; he was not ready,' was the answer. 'He never will be ready,' came the quick retort from the man on the floor, 'and he never will be a Christian until you go yourself and ask him to come. If God had wanted some one else to speak to that man, God would have spoken to some one else instead of to you. Now,' continued the editor, turning and facing the audience of men, attentive and curious at the unexpected turn that things had taken, 'how many of you will promise to pray for Mr. Hudson at ten o'clock to-morrow morning while he goes himself and wins that man to Christ?' An army of men raised their hands, and the young convert was squarely in for it. Ten o'clock the next morning came all too soon. He passed and repassed the door of the business building where his friend worked before he could screw up courage enough to enter. Then he marched in. His man, a bookbinder working over a ledger in the far corner of the room, had evidently seen him coming, for he greeted the visitor by name as he came along-side, without looking up from his work. 'I 've come on a queer errand,' said Hudson, awkwardly. 'I have been a Christian, you know, only a few weeks; it is a hard thing for me to come and talk with you about this, but it means so much to me that I want to know if you will not make the decision this morning and give your heart to Christ.' He stopped. There was no answer; the man went on at his work, still without looking up.

The young soul-winner waited, no answer. Then he laid his hand upon the shoulder of the man he had come to win, and began again, 'You and I have been old friends for so long that I believe I can help you and you can help me in the Christian life, and I want you to say to me that you will make the decision.' Still no reply; but now, as Hudson waited, with his hand on his friend's arm, he bore down hard and lovingly on that arm. Then he saw, on the ledger that was before him, big tear-drops falling; and he knew that he had his man. After a moment more the bookbinder's hand was thrust out and gripped his caller's, as he said, 'Hudson, there 's my hand on it. I 'm a Christian from this time on.' ''

The result of this experience determined the young convert to win others to the Christian life, and among those whom he first gained was a profane cartman, with whom he knelt behind a crockery crate and prayed God to put "prayer instead of swear" into the cartman's mouth.

The second important narrative published with reference to Mr. Hudson by his biographer concerns the organization of the Baracas and Mr. Hudson's business changes, made in order to the furtherance of his plans of Christian work. "At thirty-one Mr. Hudson had opened his first store, after seventeen years of learning the business in the largest crockery store in Syracuse. He had been offered a partnership in the established business, but he preferred to branch out for himself. In three years' time, the first year after his conversion, he was carrying a stock of his own worth $16,000. He pushed steadily ahead, and opened another store, in Cortland; then another, in Auburn. All three prospered, and they made an increasing tax upon his time and strength. The vow was made that when his capital reached a certain point, all above that amount would

be spent directly for God. The mark was reached, and a missionary in India was supported.

"His touch with men, and his success in leading men to Christ, made Mr. Hudson long to do something to bring more men into vital relation with Jesus Christ and into an intimate knowledge and systematic study of the Bible. He looked around him to see whether the Sunday school was meeting this need. His city numbered one hundred thousand people; there was not in it, in a single Sunday school, a men's Bible class numbering as many as ten members. Yet he was told that there were in that city sixteen thousand young men of whom not more than five per cent went to Church, and still less to Sunday school. His own Sunday school had no men's class, and no men in sight for one. Something was wrong. But that something could be set right. Business cares, with three flourishing stores, were pressing, so others were solicited to take up the Bible-class work. That move failed, just as it had failed with his first convert, the bookbinder. Hudson was thrown back on the necessity of doing something himself. The home church was being decorated just then, and the entire Sunday school was obliged to meet as one class in a rear room. Hudson noticed a few young men waiting outside to walk home, after school, with their girls. He did not want to ask them to join the rest of the school in the single room available, so he invited them to crawl in under the rafters of the partially finished church and find a place for the Bible class that he asked them to form with him. They were ready for a novelty like that, and did so, sitting on the back of a seat, while their teacher faced them standing on a front seat. There under the scaffolding, amid dirt and plaster, he taught his first men's class, asking for a prayer in order to secure quiet, and then telling and applying the lesson story in simple language.

"They stayed by their teacher, these young fellows, and for several Sundays met 'roosting,' as they said, on the backs of the pews. But business was so pressing that he did not see how he could organize and push the class as it deserved. Yet the opportunities for reaching men kept opening before him, and the Church's neglect was so painfully apparent that he could not endure it, and kept looking for a man to lead and organize his class. What an outlook for a live business man! Had these been sixteen thousand prospective customers instead of sixteen thousand men to reach for Christ, he frankly admitted that not a stone would have been left unturned to get them. He would at once have planned a campaign to bring them to his store. As for these sixteen thousand prospective Church members, no one but the devil would be in competition with him to secure them for his Church and Bible class. Yet the tug of business would not let up; it was all the other way. 'It takes prayer and sacrifice for a business man to give himself to the Lord's work,' says Mr. Hudson to-day, as he reviews the old struggle; 'a man would always rather give his money, which often is no sacrifice, than to give himself. But God wants men, not merely their money, in His work. If He gets the men, He will get their money too. Happy is the man who surrenders when God calls.' He finally gave in and set himself to finding out the real needs of the eighteen young men whom he had gathered together. He threw the responsibility for all the activities of the class upon the members of the class. They organized thoroughly.

"In six months the crockery merchant's class of eighteen had grown to one hundred and eight. It was taking a lot of his time—more than he ever intended. Finally he said to himself that he believed he would actually have to let one of his stores go—or his class, and he could n't drop that. So he closed out a store, and, said

he, 'I 'm doing a great thing for the Lord.' With only two stores to manage, affairs in the class took a boom, and the whole Church was feeling the result. The gain was so marked that Mr. Hudson decided that what worked well once would work well twice, and he closed out another of his stores, deciding that, after all, one flourishing store was all that he needed, if thereby he could have more time for the Lord's work. The results justified the decision.

"There were two hundred and seventy members in his Church when Mr. Hudson gathered his young men together under the rafters of the half-finished building that eventful Sunday noon. In the seventeen years that have passed, three hundred and fifty-two men have been won to Christ in that class alone, and through that class and the Philathea, the young women's class, more than five hundred have been added to the membership. The influence of the work spread, of course, to the other Churches in Syracuse and beyond, and twelve years ago the ninety classes that flourished in New York State and thereabouts got together and talked about forming a State organization. 'No,' said Hudson; 'let us have no new State organizations to cumber the already existing Sunday school and Church machinery; but if you 'll make it a National organization, I 'll consent to go in for it with you.' This was done, and Mr. Hudson, of course, was made the National president. Then the pressure of the Bible-class work grew so heavy that he came home to his wife one day and said, 'It 's a question with me whether I can keep my store going any longer.' 'Well,' answered his wife, 'I knew you 'd come to it. 'You see,' says Mr. Hudson, as he tells of it smilingly to-day, 'the thing had become a larger business than my own business.' That 's a way the King's business has. 'I 'll throw up my business,' said the merchant, 'and get a million men.' So in 1905 his third

and last store went; and the successful crockery merchant pledged himself and his personal fortune to the winning of men to the Savior and to the study of the Bible in and through the Sunday school."

The first Baraca Class was organized October 10, 1890, the platform adopted being, "Young men at work for young men, all standing by the Bible and the Bible school." While it is doubtless true that Mr. Hudson's idea was by no means original, yet a new spiritual influence certainly attended its operation. Similar classes existed in other Churches, but many new ones began to be formed. In June, 1898, representatives from various classes met at Utica, N. Y., and organized The Baraca Union of America, and some time since it was estimated that the Baraca Classes in the United States, England, and Canada, together with the Philathea women's classes, contained more than three hundred thousand members who were divided among many denominations.[10] A paper called *The Baraca* represents the interests of the movement. "The Baraca Supply Company" handles the goods required by the classes; badges, literature, blank forms, games for socials, and other articles. Headquarters were opened at Syracuse, N. Y. Colors chosen for the society were blue and white. The badge adopted was a large initial "B" containing the letters "R" and "C" in the upper loop, and the letter "A" below.

The Baraca Union was not formed as in the strictest sense a church brotherhood, yet in churches which had no brotherhood the Baraca Class at once undertook to supply many of the offices of a complete fraternity. A number of classes instituted reading-room, gymnasium, baseball teams, mandolin clubs, cycle clubs, and such social features as local conditions suggested. The three emphatic words impressed upon the members were:

[10] "'How' Book," p. 85, vide infra.

Sympathy, Prayer, and Consecration. An interesting feature was the use of a secret service pledge intended to deepen the spiritual life of the membership. The following blank was filled out by the person taking this step:

Pledge.—"My Secret Service (Matt. 6:6; John 14:13, 14). 1. I pledge to pray for the unconverted members of our Bible class every day at noon, or as soon thereafter as I remember this pledge. 2. I pledge to make a list of those to whom I will speak, and to work and pray for them. 3. I will meet the secret service members once a month and pray aloud with them, and do all in my power to help bring ..... members to Christ within the next six months. Signed ..... Dated ....."

Good results attended the use of this agreement,[11] and the leaders have particularly emphasized it, believing that the setting of a particular hour when every Christian class member should pray for some one not a Christian, raises the standard of Christian experience and consecration.

One Sunday a month, usually the first, was called "Rally Day," and effort was made by personal work and postal cards to have every member present. On such days special features were often introduced, such as an address by some qualified speaker. The constant effort was to enlarge the circle over which the union had a saving influence. The result of the business system and strenuous spirit behind these plans was seen in the growth attained. Spiritual ends were also compassed. From one class over a score were baptized in a single year. In two years in a large church fifty-two were received from the Baraca Class into church membership. A village pastor reported: "When the class

[11] The "'How' Book," M. A. Hudson, describes the adoption and success of the "Secret Service," p. 92, also ff.

was organized the male constituency of our Church numbered thirty-eight. Nine of these were non-residents, leaving the resident male membership twenty-nine. Since that date thirty-two male members have been received into our membership and twenty-four of this number were first members of the Baraca Class. The increase has been over one hundred per cent. We do not claim that the Baraca Class is entitled to the credit of having brought these men into the Kingdom and into the Church, but we are sure that the class most nobly supported the pastor and the Church in reaching out after men, and that its influence and power have been great."

The indirect influence which the faithful story of the Bible in such classes has exerted in the direction of temperance, purity, and Christian citizenship it is impossible to estimate, but it can not have been small. The attachment incidentally formed for all Christian undertakings and for the church and Sunday school often proved to be a character-building force. From the first, determination characterized the effort of the Baracas to get and to keep men. "Hustlers' Committees" were employed in this undertaking. A good sample of the enthusiasm and persistence sometimes shown in this work was presented in the case of a Baraca Bible Class at Raleigh, N. C., described by Mr. Hudson in writing on "How to Reach Men."[12] "The chairman of the hustlers' committee (by invitation of the president of the class) arose and, coming before the class, said he wished to give a report of the hustlers' committee for the past week. He said: 'Mr. George Jones went to work Monday morning for the Raleigh Hardware Company. Being a stranger in town, our hustlers began to hustle for him the first day. Who saw Mr. Jones on Monday?'

[12] Op. cit., Hudson, pp. 41-48.

A young man arose and said, 'I called on Mr. Jones Monday, presenting our class card of invitation, for which he thanked me.' 'Tuesday?' Another man arose and said, 'I called on him Tuesday, presented my card, and he said he was much obliged.' 'Wednesday?' 'I called on Mr. Jones Wednesday. He said that two other men had called upon him this week, and he thought we were a live class.' 'Thursday?' 'I called upon Mr. Jones Thursday. He said three men had called on him this week and he thought we must be a great class and he would be here to-day.' 'Friday?' 'Mr. Jones was very much surprised when I called on him on Friday, and said he would certainly be here to-day, and he was very much pleased at the number of invitations he had received.' 'Saturday?' 'I called Saturday, and Mr. Jones said that he would either have to come to this class on Sunday or move out of town.' 'Well, who went to see Mr. Jones to-day?' 'I called upon Mr. Jones this morning and found him in bed, but I waited until he had his breakfast and dressed, and here he is,' said a man, as he reached down and lifted the stranger to his feet. This is only an example of what has been done and is being done in hundreds of Bible classes for men and women throughout the land. It is related that one man was called upon fifty-six times and that on the fifty-seventh time he accepted the invitation, came to the class and joined it, and to-day is one of the pillars of the Church."

After the days of the once famous Alling Class[18] organized in 1884 in the Central Presbyterian Church, Rochester, N. Y., and which grew into a veritable regiment of Bible school men, the increase and development of the adult organized Bible class for men was constant. Until the last quarter of the nineteenth century men

[18] Reported at length in Mead, op. cit., p. 167 ff.

were not usually found in large numbers in Sunday schools. The Alling Class and other similar institutions which sprang up at about the same time, and whose work was supplemented and more widely and aggressively propagated by the Young Men's Christian Association and by the Baraca Union, brought about a very different state of affairs with reference to the relation between men and the Bible. Soon few cities were without great association Bible classes and institutes, and few colleges lacked hosts of young men gathered into groups for the study of the Sacred Scriptures. Sunday schools abounded with men's classes, in many instances running up into the hundreds in their memberships, and often so diversified in their activities as to perform all the functions of the usual Church brotherhoods. This work is regarded by many as constituting one of the most encouraging symptoms of modern Christian life, and especially in view of the fact that the more recent tendency seems to be away from the mere presentation of Sunday lectures upon themes of social and political interest, and in the direction of intelligent and purposive examination of the Christian literature and teaching. In most Protestant Churches, especially in the larger and more highly-organized bodies, it is felt that both the brotherhood and the men's Bible classes are needed, and that they co-operate with mutual profit.

The account just given re-emphasizes what is so often impressed upon the mind by the study of Christian institutions, that they are built and maintained by self-denial. Since the influence of Jesus is ever striving in the world men will continue to appear who will give themselves and their all to the interests of the Kingdom of Christ.

"The potent call
Doubtless shall cheat full oft the heart's desire."

Moreover, when a useful service is unselfishly undertaken it will always find helpers, for as the Bishop of Ripon has said, "Wherever a man in whom the true spirit dwells arises to work among the sons of men, brothers like minded will gather round his standard, and the work of such men can never be in vain."

XVIII

RECENT CHURCH BROTHERHOODS

METHODIST AND PRESBYTERIAN

It has been seen that Methodism grew out of the Holy Club at Oxford, that its founder received personal benefit from the men's society in Aldersgate Street, and that he greatly aided the work of the Society for the Reformation of Manners and other similar organizations of London. His first open-air sermon was preceded by expounding the Scriptures to the little society at Bristol, whither he had followed George Whitefield. From the first Methodism was both democratic and brotherly in spirit, and it gradually absorbed what remained of the Horneck-Woodward societies, and which had for decades been the means of keeping from entire extinction the spark of vital piety.[1]

Among the earliest Methodist brotherhoods, regarding the matter from a denominational standpoint, were the societies and classes formed among the Methodist men in the ranks of the British army and navy. Converts made in the chapels and out-door meetings of Great Britain, and who enlisted or were pressed into military service, found out each other as being brother Methodists, and formed themselves into groups which transcended differences of rank, and which not only resulted in spiritual encouragement and in mutual helpfulness, but which produced important permanent ef-

[1] "The Life of the Rev. John Wesley," Richard Watson, pp, 64 and 65, Nota. Watson particularizes the societies in London, Bristol, and St. Ives, Cornwall, as being thus absorbed by Methodism.

fects in the extension of Methodist societies and institutions into parts of the world in which they were unknown.

A very delightful book by a noted British chaplain contains a full account of the Methodist societies among military men and sailors.[2] It begins with Mr. Wesley's statement, "Loyalty is with me an essential branch of religion," and with illustrations of the interest taken in the defenders of the empire by the Methodist leader. John Wesley exalted patriotism. In 1756, when England was threatened with invasion, he offered to raise Methodist volunteers in case they should be needed. He witnessed with pleasure military exercises, and he frequently, and evidently with much acceptability, preached to men in uniform. With all his admiration and fondness for soldiers, the great reformer was not blind to their weaknesses and sins, as witness "A Further Appeal to Men of Reason and Religion."[3] Wesley's tract "Advice to a Soldier," was scattered broadcast, and one reason for his zeal with respect to outdoor preaching was that this was at the time about the only way soldiers could be reached.[4]

The concern for the moral state of soldiers and sailors shown by their distinguished organizer was communicated to the body of Methodist preachers and societies. In 1779 George Cussons and John Davies resolved to raise a fund to supply soldiers with pocket Bibles. "The first parcel of Bibles was sent out from the vestry of Wesley's West Street Chapel, and the first sermon in behalf of the society was preached in that chapel by the Rev. Mr. Collins. Thus arose the 'Naval

[2] "Soldiers and Preachers, Too," Owen Spencer Watkins. This modest preacher-soldier has had wide experience at Kandia, Khartoum, Ladysmith, and elsewhere. He was four times mentioned in despatches for gallantry in service, and holds Egyptian and Queen's medals.

[3] Watkins, op. cit., p. 9.

[4] Ibid, p. 11.

and Military Bible Society'—twenty-five years before the founding of the British and Foreign Bible Society. It is the oldest society for the distribution of God's Word in existence, and though no longer associated with Methodism, is still in active operation."[5]

The effect upon the troops of the various activities of the Methodists, both those in their behalf and those of the general religious movement, was marked. Soldiers often defended Mr. Wesley when he was attacked by mobs. At Westminster as early as 1738 he found a Methodist class chiefly composed of soldiers. At Waterford, Ireland, he met a society made up principally of members of a Highland regiment. At Limerick sixty were banded in one class. Dublin, Berwick, Kinsale, Chatham, Manchester, Leicester, and Canterbury were among the places which had these soldiers' classes. In the stirring days which followed the gathering of these men into religious bodies they had abundant opportunity to show that men of God possess courage, and they so behaved that Mr. Wesley in a letter to Alderman Ridley was able to confidently challenge comparison of such soldiers with others. "Let us judge by matter of fact. Let either friends or enemies speak. Did those who feared God behave as cowards at Fontenoy?"[6] Ten years later a colonel with whom he dined said to Wesley, "No men fight like those who fear God; I had rather command five hundred such than any regiment in his majesty's army."[7]

It was part of the early persecution of Methodists that both laymen and preachers were sometimes "pressed" for military or naval service in defiance of all law, and at seasons when the act was greatest cru-

[5] Wesley's Works, VI, 374-377. The index of these volumes contains 14 citations to Mr. Wesley's references to soldiers, abundantly sustaining the facts stated by Lieut.-Col. Watkins.

[6] Wesley's Journal, Works, Vol. III, p. 354.

[7] Ibid, p. 395.

elty. Thomas Beard, a Yorkshire preacher, was thus arrested and forced to serve, and was also compelled to endure such hardships that he became one of the earliest of Methodist martyrs. The noted John Nelson was "pressed" into the war with France under the law seizing those who "had no lawful calling or sufficient maintenance." Yet Nelson was a mason, supporting himself by his trade while he preached for love. Bail was refused him; he was cast into a prison, and later was so harshly treated in marches and service that the roughest soldiery revolted and even dared to rebuke the commanding officer. The cruelty continued and increased, however, which resulted in creating more sympathy and a better hearing for the sermons which at all hazards and despite threats and pains Nelson preached. To such preachers soldiers drew, and as many of these men entered the service or were developed within it, classes of soldiers and sailors sprang up wherever branches of the army were found. Common faith, labor, and persecutions made brothers of these men. They called each other such. "We lost one brother of Graham's regiment, and two of ours." "The Lord gave us all on that day an extraordinary courage, and a word to speak to our comrades as we advanced toward the enemy, to tell them how happy they were that had made their peace with God. We likewise spoke to one another while the cannon were firing, and we could all rely on God and resign ourselves to His will." "A few of us meet here twice a day; and, thanks be to God, His grace is still sufficient for us! We desire all our brethren to praise God on our behalf." "We left our brother, Mark Bend,[8] in the field; whether he be alive or dead, we can not tell; but the last of our brothers that spoke to him, after he was wounded, found him

[8] Or Bond, Vide "Soldiers and Preachers, Too," pp. 35, 39, and 46.

quite resigned to the will of God."[9] John Haime, a trooper of the Queen's Dragoons, was the leader of the Methodists in the Low Countries, and wherever the army went he was surrounded by men who eagerly drank in his message, and who formed a brotherhood of three hundred "members of Society," and whose services often attracted a thousand men. In the winter quarters at Ghent rooms were hired which were headquarters for this organization of Christian soldiers. When the army went back to England it carried with it so many Methodist converts that the ranks of the Wesleyan ministry were greatly recruited by ex-soldiers who felt called to preach the gospel. In "The Lives of Early Methodist Preachers" over a fourth of the names are of men who had seen service in army or navy.

At Gibraltar a Methodist society, or brotherhood, existed among the soldiers as early as 1769, "comprising thirty-two members, all meeting regularly in class."[10] Lord Cornwallis, June 9th of the above year, issued a "Garrison Order" for their protection from molestation. Later, under other commanders, through much persecution, including imprisonment and lashings, a permanent church was founded at the fortress, and converts made there carried gospel preaching to many quarters of the earth and into all the wars in which British arms engaged.

It is interesting to know that in the old "Gentleman's Magazine" a naval officer, declaring that at sea it was impossible to get efficient work out of men without the use of profanity, said: "I never knew but one exception, and that was extraordinary. I declare, believe me it is true, there was a set of fellows called

[9] Extracts from letters from Sampson Staniforth, a young infantryman in Flanders during the War of the Austrian Succession. Wesley's Journal, Works, III, pp. 383 & 4. "Bond's last words were an exhortation to his comrade to stand fast in the Lord." Watkins, op. cit., p. 47.

[10] Watkins, op. cit., p. 51.

Methodists on board the *Victory,* Lord Nelson's ship, and these men never wanted swearing at. The dogs were the best seamen on board. Every man *knew* his duty, and every man *did* his duty. They used to meet together and sing hymns, and nobody cared to molest them. The commander would not have suffered it, if they had attempted it. They were allowed a mess to themselves." "I have often heard them singing away myself, and 't is true, I assure you, but not one of them was either killed or wounded at the battle of Trafalgar, though they did their duty as well as any man. Not one of the psalm-singing gentry was even hurt; and there the fellows are, swimming away in the Bay of Biscay, at this very time, singing like the d——. They are now under a new commander, but still are allowed the same privileges, and mess by themselves. These are the only fellows that I ever knew do their duty without swearing, and I will do them the justice to say they do it."[11] From Nelson's great victory of 1805 down to the present hour, the Royal Navy of Britain has not lacked its group of stalwart Methodist seamen, and bodies of a similar nature have been found also in the navy of the United States of America.

Malta became in 1815 another seat of a society like that of Gibraltar. A room was hired, religious services were held, and mutual offices of brotherhood were engaged upon by men of various ranks. During the Napoleonic wars the army of the Duke of Wellington had regularly organized Methodist societies, Colour-Sergeant Wood of the Grenadier Guards was indefatigable in organizing his fellow-soldiers, who in the famous Guards' charge which put an end to the bloody career of Napoleon gave a good account of themselves, as also in the three following years in standing camps.

[11] Ibid, pp. 60, 61.

In the camp at Cambray alone fifty members met, of whom Sergeant Wood declared, "We live in peace one with another, and the blessing of God attends our feeble efforts."

Very important and interesting, indeed, is the modern work of Wesleyan Methodism done through the agency of the Army and Navy Board. The Wesleyans are pioneers in the establishment of soldiers' homes, of which they have fifty or more in all the prominent garrison towns. The first of these centers of useful service and of pure influence was established in 1861 by Rev. Charles Henry Kelly, in the basement of the chapel in Manor Street, Chatham, Old Brompton, called by Mr. Wesley in his *Journal* "the handsome new preaching-house." In this place, then neither new or handsome, Mr. Kelly opened a reading-room and a night school. A room was fitted up for prayer and for Christian fellowship. Two rooms were prepared for sleeping—"the first time that sleeping accommodation had ever been provided for the men in such an institution." A considerable band of young men, principally of the Royal Mariners and the Royal Engineers, were drawn to this institution, and the story of the night classes held with the assistance of a band of staff sergeant-majors of the Royal Engineers and of a number of university men who had drifted into the army through dissipation and who were thus redeemed to useful and even to Christian lives, has been well told in the attractive book to which reference has been so frequently made in these pages.[12] Splendid buildings followed the initial soldiers' home, and they were equipped with modern institutional features, and accompanied by Wesleyan gar-

[12] Watkins, op. cit., p. 160: "The work was effective. Many who but for this help would never have risen were enabled to qualify for promotion; and in the Bible-meetings many were led to a saving knowledge of Jesus Christ."

rison churches of substantial architecture. By the year 1905 the forty homes provided sleeping accommodations for 45,308 men, and they had become a vast commercial as well as a philanthropic enterprise.[13] The value of the homes, as reported at the above date, was £73,923,[14] a sum which has been greatly increased in subsequent years.

These institutions have been followed by those of other Churches, but the Methodists are far in the lead in the development of their plans. Besides perhaps a score of chaplains giving their whole time to the spiritual care of British soldiers and sailors, more than a hundred and twenty-five others give part time. These men have instituted Wesleyan classes so widely that scarcely a regiment or warship in the British service is without such a society, creating a Christian fellowship which is not only delightful to the members, but which constitutes an effective evangelistic agency. Gospel meetings are regularly held in the soldiers' homes and on the battleships, and splendid accounts of results achieved from the services held and from the kindnesses rendered in the barracks and on the battlefield by Methodist men and by their leaders are contained in the publications of the Church.

In a previous chapter it has been stated that in England and in her dependencies the non-conformist Churches are co-operating in Pleasant Sunday Afternoon Societies and in "brotherhoods."[15] The latter bodies are of a somewhat similar nature and origin, but they are usually more definitely religious, and are more firmly implanted within the Church organizations in which they are established. "The brotherhoods" therefore represent a later and somewhat reformed type of these societies, and in their foundation the Wesleyans

[13] Ibid, p. 161.

[14] Ibid, p. 177.

[15] See pages 280 and 290.

were the pioneers as they are at present the leaders in this whole movement.

It was about 1904 that Rev. Herbert M. Nield, a mission leader in Bradford, Yorkshire, originated the famous Eastbrook Brotherhood, which has been the inspiration of the recent and stronger British brotherhood development.[16] Of still later organization are the many noted Wesleyan Brotherhoods, whose memberships in some cases run up into four figures, and some of whom conduct Sunday afternoon meetings attended by from six or seven hundred up to three or four thousand of men throughout the year. Among the most aggressive societies may be named the East Ham Brotherhood, London, the three Wesleyan Brotherhoods of Hull, the Victoria Hall Brotherhood of Sheffield, the Marsh Lane Brotherhood, Bootle, near Liverpool, and Albert Hall, Nottingham. Sheffield has another successful brotherhood aside from that at Victoria Hall; namely, the Men's Meeting of Wesley Hall. These two brotherhoods of the same city are of especial interest as representing differing ideals due to contrasted locations and plans. Rev. C. E. Walters, who originated the work at Wesley, sought for his purpose not numbers, but more thorough Christian culture. The six or seven hundred men whom he gathered were made directly a working force for the Church, and they were taught by the pastor, who occupied the platform himself three Sundays out of four. Like Mr. Walters, Rev. George H. McNeal in the management of the Victoria Hall work acted as president, but he did not undertake the larger part of the instruction, and he aimed at institutional features. About fifteen hundred men and the same number of women were soon drawn into allied societies. Aside from the great Sunday meetings, athletic, literary, and musical organi-

[16] "Brotherhood and Democracy," Ward, p. 196.

zations were developed. The brotherhood now has swimming, cricket, football, and rambling clubs, a book club, and orchestral and choral societies which help in the Sunday music and which also give frequent concerts and oratorios. For the management of this large and complex company the city was divided into fifty-two districts, each having a captain. Each member was numbered and, on attending Sunday meeting, reported his presence to one of a large corps of secretaries at the entrance. Those absent for any length of time were reported to the nearest captain to be looked up and to be brought back into his place in the brotherhood. Thus this numerous down-town society was built up and strengthened. The pastors in charge report the Sheffield brotherhoods as being powerful feeders of Church membership, one of them saying, "Half of my enquirers at the Sunday night services come wearing the brotherhood button."

The idea sometimes obtains that the number of the Wesleyan brotherhoods is small, being confined to a few which are in the mission halls and which are of vast membership. The fact is the reverse. Throughout the Wesleyan Churches are many of these organizations, some of them being very small, but, it is said, being often not less useful relatively than are the organizations of great size and note.

Before passing from the topic of Wesleyan brotherhoods some reference should be made to the "Slate Clubs" which sprang into existence as a Christian movement intended to counteract the harmful influence of the secular "Friendly Societies." The Friendly Societies of Great Britain were organized to aid the working classes in times of sickness and death, and they established co-operative funds for relief in these crises. Unfortunately, however, many of these societies associated

themselves with "public houses," where their meetings were held and where men were encouraged to form habits of dissipation. It was a Wesleyan "local preacher" who, seeing a friend coming out of one of these places, asked him if the men would n't meet in the Methodist Chapel if the trustees would permit them to use the premises. Having received a hopeful answer, this zealous spirit went to work to secure consent for such an arrangement and to bring about the change of location. Out of this action came the various forms of mutual aid societies which for a long time brought financial benefit to large numbers of persons and which doubtless prepared the way for their own extinction by agitating the subject of insurance for working people under governmental encouragement and control. The Slate Club idea was the contribution to a common fund of various small amounts, which, being put at interest, resulted in a slight additional profit. At the year's end, the sums put in by various members being divided in proportion to their contributions, the slate was washed clean, and the club by vote might renew its existence or disband. A similar plan, used in case of the very poor, has provided a special fund to be drawn out and enjoyed at Christmas time. Another name for work of this nature is "Thrift Club."[17]

In the United States of America, Methodist brotherhood work arose from various independent societies which began their work during the last quarter of the nineteenth century. After a time groups of chapters were formed, and these began to take on strength. After describing the Brotherhood of St. Andrew and the Brotherhood of Andrew and Philip, Professor Cressey says of the Brotherhood of St. Paul, an organization of Methodist men, "This is the third Protestant fraternity

[17] "Brotherhood and Democracy," op. cit., p. 65.

of young men in the United States in point of age, and is confined to the Methodist Episcopal Church."[18] This society, whose work began in 1894, and was reorganized in 1896, held at Syracuse, N. Y., in 1898 a general convention.[19]

About the same time as that of the beginning of the Brotherhood of St. Paul arose another society of Methodist men, which was several times reorganized under various titles, finally replacing the name Mizpah Brotherhood with that of Wesley Brotherhood. In 1907 the National Convention of the Brotherhood of St. Paul, held at Columbus, Ohio, in the Broad Street Church, requested the Wesley Brotherhood to appoint an equal number of delegates to meet those whom they had elected and, if possible, to effect consolidation. In March, 1908, at Buffalo, N. Y., these representatives came together and decided to organize the Methodist Brotherhood, a society which should be pan-Methodistic in its scope, if not in its actual labors. The result is a brotherhood which for the succeeding years has been slowly but, it is believed, safely and substantially developed in strength and in usefulness. The first president was Mr. Harvey E. Dingley, a distinguished layman of Syracuse, N. Y., and formerly for some years president of the Brotherhood of St. Paul.

The general constitution of the Methodist Brotherhood stated its object in this way: "The aim of this organization is to effect the mutual improvement of its members by religious, social, literary, and physical culture; to promote the spirit and practice of Christian brotherhood; to increase fraternal interest among men; to develop their activity in all that relates to social, civic,

[18] Professor F. G. Cressey, "The Church and Young Men," p. 123. See also "International Encyclopedia."

[19] "Northern Christian Advocate," March 22, 1899.

and industrial betterment, and to build up the Church by leading men into its communion and fellowship."[20] Membership in the brotherhood was thus outlined: "All men's organizations of whatever name, existing in Methodist Churches, or that may hereafter exist, approved by the Quarterly Conference, are recognized as Chapters of The Methodist Brotherhood, and upon application for and adoption of the Constitution shall be enrolled as active Chapters. Constitutions of Local Chapters shall be in accord with the general Constitution." In the local chapter membership is open to "any man approved by the Executive Committee and elected by a majority of members present at any regular meeting." It will be observed that brotherhood membership was not conditioned upon Church membership.

The work which is being conducted by the men of Methodism in perhaps fifteen hundred places in America and in Europe, including also a few in other regions, will be better understood by considering the "Lines of Activity" laid out for standing committees. "Committee on Religious Work, Bible and Mission Study, Chairman: The First Vice-President. Increase attendance at regular church services. Recruit the Sunday school (with male pupils and teachers). Conduct Men's Devotional Meetings. Promote systematic personal evangelism. (Win One Circle.) Co-operate in revival efforts. Establish and conduct neighborhood and shop meetings. Take a religious census of the parish. Encourage systematic giving, tithing, etc. Stand by Pastor and Y. M. C. A. Secretary. Organize Men's Bible Class. Build up existing men's classes in Sunday school. Arrange for lectures on Bible, travel in Bible lands, etc. Form Inter-Church Bible-Class Leagues. Support nor-

[20] The above and following constitutional and official items are taken from the "Manual of the Methodist Brotherhood," arranged by the General Secretary, Rev. Fayette L. Thompson, D. D., and attractively printed by the society at 150 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

mal and teacher-training classes. Urge men to join Y. M. C. A. Bible Classes. Affiliate with Organized Adult Bible Class Movement. Prosecute Mission Study in classes. Connect with Laymen's Missionary Movement. And in general seek to revive and extend among men the intelligent and earnest study of the Word of God, and of the work of those who hold His commission to 'Go, preach the gospel to every creature.'

"Committee on Social Service and Civic Righteousness, Chairman: The Second Vice-President. Study local problems of life and labor with a view to bettering conditions. For example: child-labor, tuberculosis, unsanitary housing and tenements, unsafe schools, etc. Plan to put your church plant to use every day in the week; reading-room, gymnasium, etc. Watch legislation, organize opposition to vicious laws, and favor moral reforms. Help men to better positions. Co-operate with social settlement workers, teachers, etc. Agitate for a better town, without saloons, gambling dens, Sunday desecration, improper shows, and demoralizing billboards, and with better schools, cleaner streets, public playgrounds, hospitals, and organized charities. And in general strive not only to quicken the religious zeal of the members for their own Church and denomination, but to investigate the social problems about them and contribute toward their solution in the spirit of Christ.

"Committee on Fellowship, Chairman: The Third Vice-President. Make visiting men and boys feel at home in your church. Keep inviting men to Brotherhood meetings. See that newcomers are introduced. Print weekly bulletin of Church. Help men to find lodgings, work, friends. Hold debates and discussions, general and religious. Arrange clubs for Parliamentary practice. Distribute invitations to special services. Get up entertaining programs for chapter meetings. Supervise public lectures and entertainments. Welcome new

members and take pains to extend their acquaintance. Initiate musical features; glee clubs, orchestras, etc. Provide refreshments. And in general exemplify and disseminate the spirit of the Elder Brother among the men of the Chapter and Church.

"Committee on Membership, Chairman: The Fourth Vice-President. Watch out for and win new members. Exercise oversight of membership roll. Operate 'follow-up' system for members. Have custody of badges, regalia, rituals, song books, and other Chapter property. Prepare for initiation and installation ceremonies. Care for the Chapter meeting-room. Get subscribers for Church papers, and especially for the Brotherhood monthly, *Methodist Men*. Discover and report cases of sickness and misfortune. Relieve distress among members. And in general be charged with the duty of enrolling every man who can help or be helped by your chapter of 'The Methodist Brotherhood.'"

The Methodist Brotherhood maintains general offices, with secretaries, traveling and executive. Its organ, *Methodist Men*, is a magazine published from the beginning of the federated work, and which treats broadly all Methodist lay societies and movements. A society of boys is called the Knights of Methodism, and its ritual and plans are based upon heroic and knightly models. Several of the chapters have mutual benefit branches, which have proven to be successful and permanent wherever they have been established, but which have not greatly increased in number. Like the other modern Church brotherhoods, that of the Methodist Churches is but coming into its own in the recognition of the denomination and in the attainment of assured plans of accomplishing its ends. The movement of this society has been broadened from the primary object of evangelism, which most fully occupied the attention of its organizers, to take in the thought of social and of civic

service.[21] It is felt, however, by some of the strongest men of Methodism that there is a peril in this development, unless it be wisely guarded, and that the brotherhood must not be permitted to devote its strength to forms of work, no matter how useful, which will obscure the ideal of a constant and intelligent man-saving effort. As Methodism, by its very origin, and also by its true spirit, is evangelistic, its work for men is not likely to be unduly influenced by the materialistic tendencies which in a few instances have restricted the religious power of similar societies.

"Probably the oldest men's organization," says Dr. Miller, "is the Young Men's Guild of the Church of Scotland (Presbyterian) and the Young Men's Guild of the United Free Churches of Scotland, also Presbyterian. This organization does all sorts of work in the local congregation. One particularly excellent feature has been the issue of guild text-books covering Bible study, Church history, and missions. The two guilds of these Churches have each their own monthly magazine."[22]

Of course the statement of priority above made is for Christian men's organizations, and makes no account of the societies of Roman Catholics. Nor does it take into account older Protestant societies, later discontinued or merged into new forms. Undoubtedly the men's work in the Churches of Scotland is very old, as contrasted with the modern Protestant Church brotherhoods, and the work done by the men of the Scottish Churches presents a very interesting picture of usefulness.

[21] See the official declaration to the General Conference of 1908, published in "Modern Church Brotherhoods," Patterson, pp. 56-58. The author of this book was followed as General Secretary of the Methodist Brotherhood by Rev. Fayette L. Thompson, D. D., whose activities in his own and in federated brotherhood movements are well known.

[22] Dr. Rufus W. Miller, Brotherhood of Andrew and Philip, reporting a visit to England.

The Scottish Brotherhood Union, representing the Pleasant Sunday Afternoon movement, is, as has been stated, non-sectarian. Of course, great numbers of the Presbyterian men of Scotland are actively affiliated with this organization, as are the members of other denominational bodies of Scotia.

The Presbyterian Brotherhood of America was established in the year 1906. Two years before that time, by the Presbytery of Mahoning, an overture had been adopted looking to such a step, and this document was forwarded to the General Assembly of 1905, which body appointed a committee to consider the matter carefully and to report to the next assembly. The paper brought in by this committee was elaborately prepared, and it indicated that much careful thought had been given to the previously undertaken men's work of local Presbyterian Churches. Moreover, a great deal of correspondence had elicited the views of leading pastors and laymen with reference to the need of a united effort on the part of the men of the Church, and as to what form, in their judgment, that effort should take. The result was that approval was given to the establishment "of a brotherhood within the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, to include all men's organizations now existing or hereafter to be formed in connection with local congregations."[28]

To begin with, all societies of men in existence in Presbyterian Churches under the administration of the General Assembly were made charter members of the new brotherhood, and the Churches which contained no such bodies were requested to organize. The General Assembly appointed a standing committee on brotherhood and a small effective committee to promote organization, and a laymen's convention was ordered.

The first Presbyterian Brotherhood convention met

[28] "Modern Church Brotherhoods," William B. Patterson, pp. 63, 64.

at Indianapolis, Ind., in November of 1906 and was attended by fifteen hundred men, of whom twelve hundred were laymen. Plans of organization and work were brought to completion at the time of this great gathering. In the constitution matured the object of the Presbyterian Brotherhood was declared to be "to promote, assist, and federate all forms of organized activity of men in the churches which have for their purpose the winning of men to Christ and the Church, the promotion of spiritual development, and the training in usefulness of men connected with the congregations, through prayer, Bible study, and Christian service, the strengthening of fellowship, and the extension of Christ's Kingdom at home and abroad."[24] In addition to the wide outlook suggested by this statement, a new note is struck by one of the several resolutions passed at the second convention in 1907: "*Resolved,* That the Presbyterian Brotherhood of America extends its congratulations to the Church at large, and recognizes with great thanksgiving the evident leading of God in bringing to Christian men of our own and other Churches a fuller recognition of the high claim of citizenship and a closer association in hearty service in behalf of better standards of commercial integrity, civic righteousness, and personal purity. The men of our Church are urged to use their power of prayer and personal service in aid of all fit agencies for securing a continuance and enlargement of their efficiency as Christian men, through all movements which make for commercial integrity, for civic honesty, for home and social protection, for the destruction of the liquor traffic, and for personal purity in heart and life."

The government of the Presbyterian Brotherhood is "vested in a council of twenty-one members, who shall

[24] Pamphlet, "Suggested Constitution," etc., published by Presbyterian Brotherhood of America, 509 South Wabash, Chicago.

be members of some organization belonging to the Brotherhood, of whom ten shall constitute a quorum."[25] In the local brotherhoods, besides the usual officers, a committee plan is arranged as follows: 1. Executive Committee. Composed of the officers and the chairmen of the several committees, to have general direction. 2. Membership Committee. To secure new members and to encourage the fidelity and usefulness of all members. 3. Committee of Inside Work. To have special responsibility for work done in connection with meetings in the Church, and specifically (a) to welcome strangers and occasional attendants; to introduce them to members and the pastor; to cultivate the spirit of fellowship among the men of the Church and congregation; (b) to stimulate the interest of men in all the church services; to prepare, under the pastor's approval, musical or other programs, especially for the Sunday evening service; (c) to provide such social meetings as shall be for the best interest of the men of the congregation; (d) to hold religious meetings for men, and through these and other proper means bring the gospel invitation and Christian obligation to men individually; (e) to inform and interest the men of the congregation in its missionary and benevolent operations. 4. Committee of Outside Work. To have special responsibility for work to be done outside the Church, and specifically (a) to invite strangers and non-churchgoers to the services of this Church; to secure regularity of attendance by the men of the congregation who are irregular or indifferent; (b) to use all proper means to advertise the work and services of the Church; (c) to visit strangers and the sick, and report all such cases to the pastor and executive committee. 5. The Finance Committee. To provide the funds necessary for the work. The treasurer shall be chairman.[26]

[25] Pamphlet, cit. sup. [26] Ibid, pp. 11 and 12.

Other committees suggested to such organizations as prefer to more fully develop departmental work are those on Bible study, prayer, missions, boys' work, evangelism, invitation and welcome, membership, attendance, social work, worship, prayer-meeting, commissary, vigilance, advertising, care of sick and poor, rooms, civics, ushers, law and order, and many others, part of which are merely various other names for the same classes of work.

For those interested in its activities the Presbyterian Brotherhood issues explanatory and inspirational literature. The magazine representing the interests of the society began publication in 1907 and is called by the name of the organization. The St. Louis convention of 1911 instituted the practice of printing both the addresses and the discussions of the chief meeting of the brotherhood, together with the reports given by the council and committees, and the result was a handsome volume of 425 pages, called "Presbyterian Men."

Success has so far attended the brotherhood movement in the Presbyterian Church that if not only its chartered bodies but its independent men's societies were numbered it would be found that the Presbyterian Brotherhood represents more than fourteen hundred organizations and well towards seventy thousand men. Many of the members of the brotherhood are working in the great movements of the day, "not primarily as brotherhood men, nor even as Presbyterians, but as Christ's men, fired with a passion for winning our brother men to Him and His Kingdom."[27] Synodical and presbyterial brotherhoods are used to stir up interest in organization work and in local development. "The Presbyterial organization exists merely for the purpose of making the local work more efficient, and

[27] The Program of the Brotherhood, 1911-1912, Charles S. Holt, president, in "The Presbyterian Brotherhood," Vol. V, No. 1.

for increasing the number of local units. It has no great activity outside of that, though there may be some work which the Presbyterial Brotherhood can do which the local brotherhoods can not do. The Synodical Brotherhood exists for increasing the activity and practice of the Presbyterial Brotherhood and for the benefit of the local organizations also."[28]

From its inception the Presbyterian Brotherhood began to make history, and within a few years of its foundation the following statement was made covering the undertakings which had been actually and successfully accomplished in one or more of its local organizations: "Aided in settlement work; improved tenement conditions; aided in the city night schools; lecture courses were provided; had a brotherhood baseball team; led men into Church membership; paid off the church's building debt; made the church attractive to men; educated a young man for the ministry; organized new churches in the presbytery; stressed spiritual culture and the prayer-life; took active part in the inter-Church federation; prepared and served a supper to the whole church; promoted Bible study among college fraternities; paid hospital and doctors' bills for needy members; conducted the midweek prayer-meeting once a month; did religious work in neighboring foreign settlements; co-operated with the Young Men's Christian Association; helped to relieve and prevent habitual drunkenness; took an active part in a moral cleansing of the town; supplied a vacant pulpit until a pastor could be employed; published and distributed copies of the pastor's sermons; had health lectures by local physicians and specialists; advisory committees were appointed to work with the pastor; 'the workers in our church are mostly brotherhood men.'"

[28] "Presbyterian Men," p. 160, address, "Things Accomplished," Rev. Ira Landrith, D. D.

Other chapters "invited State officers to lecture on their work at the capitol; asked individual boys occasionally to attend the men's meetings; one brotherhood reached directly in its influence eleven hundred men; studied poverty conditions and worked with charity organizations; card index records were kept of members and their attendance; printed and circulated weekly a blotter advertising the services; committee appointed to secure work for unemployed members; considered plans for the solution of the problems of vagrancy; kept a committee of men at the church door to welcome attendants; the pastor considered the brotherhood as his own good right arm; gave monthly illustrated lectures on practical problems of religious life; held monthly social meetings for the playing of wholesome games; promoted the plans of the playground enterprises for the children; advertised in newspapers and otherwise all of the church services; the Men and Religion Forward Movement was indorsed and promoted; employed a man's evangelist and held a series of meetings for men; furnished prepared men for Sunday school teachers and church officers; many brotherhoods had Big Brother department of work for boys; instituted a campaign against short weights and false measures in stores; cordial co-operation was given the Laymen's Missionary Movement; one Sunday evening service a month was in charge of the brotherhood."

This diversified work continues thus: "Started a campaign which doubled the missionary offerings of the church; collected twenty-five cents a month dues, and thus provided for all financial needs; assisted in enforcing the pure-food laws, especially those against bad milk; had two Bible classes, one for the older and another for the younger men; found that Bible class gives immortality to the brotherhood organization; embraced in its membership an ushers' society and men's prayer

circle; sick members were looked after by the committee on visitation of the sick; erected a brotherhood clubhouse, placing privileges at $2 per year; for boys, $1; showed intelligent sympathy with all righteous contentions of the labor unions; established a strangers' bureau for looking after moving Presbyterian men; opposed the vicious amusement places and the vile picture-shows of the neighborhood; affiliated with other local brotherhoods in interdenominational work for civic morals; pledges to pray definitely and regularly for the conversion of individuals were signed; issued annual handbook, with constitution, programs, committees and names of members; pledged members to make three or more calls each month on designated church families; provided a Sunday school teacher-training class; assisted in popular education about the prevention of disease, particularly tuberculosis; proposed an annual offering of five dollars per member as the minimum for foreign missions; investigations instituted on condition of employed women and children in the community; promoted attendance on all Sunday evening services; saw that every man who attended the church services received a genuinely manly welcome; developed among the men a sense of personal responsibility for church growth and usefulness; brotherhood members lunched together downtown once a week, using the time for conference; held weekly luncheon meetings of the executive committee to consider brotherhood work; made special effort to reach young men in local medical colleges and other institutions of learning; published a time pledge-card committing men to give a definite amount of time to church work."

It is interesting to know that some organizations "studied the Confession of Faith and the work at home and abroad of the Presbyterian Church; erected a brotherhood home in a small town, equipping it on the

order of the Y. M. C. A.; dues, $3 a year; 'tackled the boy problem' by erecting an $18,000 gymnasium in a town where there is no Y. M. C. A.; talked up the wearing of the brotherhood button until the members were proud to be 'badged believers;' co-operated in an interdenominational laymen's council for evangelistic work and for the general weal of the city; brotherhoods in small towns, with the men's Bible class as a nucleus, found interdenominational meetings a blessing; divided the parish into districts, with an organization in the brotherhood to look after the men and boys in each district; appointed a committee to gather the church's offering to foreign missions, following the laymen's missionary campaign; 'our brotherhood has initiated every new movement that has lately taken place to improve and strengthen our local church,' used the souvenir postal picture of the church building to advertise the church service among traveling men at local hotels; worked for a pipe organ and a new parsonage, took care of the church's property, and constituted the pastor's real aid society; a campaign was inaugurated in city brotherhood to prevent the sending of young boy messengers to places of doubtful moral character; many brotherhoods are patronizing the American Institute of Social Service, Bible House, New York, and are regularly taking its studies in social service; had occasional home-talent after-dinner programs, with brief talks by many members on such themes as Friendship, Loyalty, and Benevolence."[29]

The Southern Presbyterian Church of the United States of America in 1908 at Greensboro, N. C., established an organization called "The Presbyterian Brotherhood for Men." It is based upon the same essential principles as those of other modern Protestant brother-

[29] Published in "The Presbyterian Brotherhood," and also in "Methodist Men," Vol. V, pp. 182-184.

hoods, and its methods are not dissimilar to those of the Northern Presbyterian body. Its outline of committees comprises Bible study, prayer, Christian culture, missions, stewardship, extension, social work, personal work, and religious meetings; the organization is, of course, under the control of the General Assembly, and it publishes suitable literature for the propagation and direction of its work.[30]

Until 1911 the United Presbyterian Brotherhood of North America was known as the Men's League. The organization of this fraternity was preceded by the recommendation in 1904 of a men's missionary league, which did not come to pass in any successful form. However, the interest excited by its suggestion led to the calling of a business men's conference at Pittsburgh in February, 1906, and which adopted a constitution for a men's league. In sending forth this constitution, Mr. J. Campbell White, the first secretary of the League, said: "The United Presbyterian Men's Movement is the composite result of many experiments and of many minds. It aims to outline a workable plan by which these four business and spiritual principles[31] can be applied to the work of the ordinary congregation. Methods will naturally differ somewhat in different communities, but if these are ultimate principles they should be capable of application under all conditions. The perfecting of the plan by which all the men of the churches are to be set at active, personal, and co-operative service of Christ and their fellow-men is a privilege which angels might covet, and to which men of intelligence can well give their very best experience and consideration."

The stated object of the Men's League was thus

[30] Handbook of "The Presbyterian Brotherhood for Men," Richmond, Va.

[31] "1. Definition, 2. Supervision, 3. Organization, 4. Co-operation;" "The Men's Movement," p. 9.

formulated: "(1) To enlist every male member of the church in some form of active Christian service, and so to supervise the work of the league in all its departments as to enable each member to render his largest and best service to the Kingdom of Christ. (2) To promote an intelligent grasp of the conditions under which America and the world can be evangelized, and to assist the officers of the congregation in securing adequate financial support for the entire educational and missionary work of the Church at home and abroad, every congregation paying as a minimum the full amount asked of it by the General Assembly."[82]

Eleven departments of the league were decided upon and were instituted. These were: 1. Department for promoting religious intelligence, including the circulation of literature. 2. Department of finance. 3. Department for promoting friendliness, and for work among strangers and new-comers. 4. Department for promoting habits of personal and family prayer and Bible study, and also the work of the Sabbath school. 5. Department for promoting Christian effort, and for work among new converts. 6. Department for promoting neighborhood work, including special work among foreigners. 7. Department for promoting attendance both of members and outsiders at the regular church services. 8. Department for promoting reform. 9. Department for helping the sick and the poor. 10. Department for promoting intellectual development. 11. Department for work among young men and boys. This outline of appropriate undertakings for a society of men can hardly be excelled for completeness, or for fitting nomenclature.

The literature of the Men's League showed that especial emphasis was placed upon financial responsibility to the Kingdom of Christ. As the origin of this brotherhood was due to missionary zeal, it is not surprising

[82] First Constitution, Article II.

that the idea of tithing was put prominently before the men, such pamphlets on this subject as those of Dr. O. P. Gifford,[33] Dr. H. C. Trumbull,[34] and Rev. H. R. Calkins,[35] being supplied at cost. The department of finance of each league was directed to secure this literature in large quantities and to see that every man in the congregation to which they belonged received this class of reading.

After several years of work it seemed wise to the leaders of the men in the United Presbyterian Church to fall in with the general tendency of Protestant communions and to replace the Men's "League" with a "Brotherhood." Therefore, in the year already named, at a convention of one thousand and eighty men in Pittsburgh, the title United Presbyterian Brotherhood was adopted, and the watchword for the ensuing season became: "Twenty-five thousand souls for Christ. A million dollars for missions." Constitutions were drawn up for National presbyterial and local brotherhoods, and for the brotherhood Bible class; and the organization, already powerful, took on new life.

At the present time the declared object of the United Presbyterian Brotherhood is thus stated: "The purpose of the brotherhood shall be to promote the spiritual life and development of the men of the congregation; to bring the men of the congregation into a more helpful fellowship with each other and the men of the community; and to enlist them in a larger and more active service for their Church, for the community, and for the world." Committees in the local organization are three: executive, membership, and program. "That the purpose of the brotherhood may be fulfilled," says this constitution, "there shall be the following departments of

[33] "Tithing a Christian Duty."

[34] "The Law of the Tithe."

[35] "The Victory of Mary Christopher."

service." Then follow, with instruction, prayer and personal work, Bible study, evangelism, fellowship, missions, work among young men and boys, "and other departments that may be needed, such as civics, social service, stewardship, general welfare of the community, church attendance."[36]

In one of its publications the United Presbyterian Brotherhood, after stating its National objective, more fully interpreted itself in this way: "Positively, The National United Presbyterian Brotherhood is a federation of all men's societies, Bible classes, leagues, clubs, of all brotherhoods, etc., etc., organizations of whatever name, in the denomination—that adopt the above declared object of the brotherhood, as given in the National Constitution, and that make written application to the National Executive Council. Each organization so enrolled is expected to make an annual voluntary contribution to help defray the expenses of the National Brotherhood. Brotherhood is to lead to 'a new emphasis on men's relation to the Heavenly Father; a new loyalty to the Elder Brother; a new cultivation of men's inner, deeper lives; and a more thoughtful, far-reaching, sincerely Christian friendship for other men.' Negatively, it is not the purpose of the brotherhood to overthrow or displace any existing men's organization—although the name 'Brotherhood' is suggested as an advantage."[37]

The success of the United Presbyterian Brotherhood under its later form of organization has been very encouraging to the Church. Its undertakings have been advanced by a well-arranged magazine, *The Men's Record and Missionary Review,* issued by the brotherhood "and Ways and Means Committee, with the co-operation of the Boards of the Church."

[36] "Model Constitutions," pamphlet issued by the United Presbyterian Brotherhood of North America, 707 Publication Building, Pittsburgh, Pa.

[37] "The United Presbyterian Brotherhood a Key to An Efficient Church."

XIX

THE MORE RECENT CHURCH BROTHERHOODS

REPRESENTING VARIOUS CHRISTIAN BODIES

THE Baptist Brotherhood was indorsed at the General Convention of Baptists of North America at Jamestown, Va., May 23, 1907. Previous to this a federation called the New England Baptist Brotherhood had been formed at Boston in January of the same year, and the Northern Baptist Convention recognized the Baptist Brotherhood as a department of its work at Oklahoma, May, 1908.

In its first year an active member of this organization wrote: "The men's movement among Baptists is profoundly spiritual. It has expressed itself in a renaissance of Bible study. Inspiration and method came from the late President Harper; organization and administration are the results of experience. Hundreds of Bible classes from the Atlantic to the Pacific attest the vitality of the movement. The brotherhood is a federation of this local constituency. Its immediate object is to organize this force for united action, fill it with an enthusiasm for humanity, and lead it to the point of vision. Its ultimate purpose is the application of the principles of Jesus to the social, civic, and industrial life of to-day, the re-enforcement of all the agencies that make for spiritual uplift and moral welfare; the spread of Christ's Kingdom among men, and their enlistment in a great forward movement for the evangelization of the world and the brotherhood of man in Jesus Christ. It bases its appeal not upon the hope of reward—'Come thou with us, and we will do thee good,' but upon the op-

portunity for service—'We are to encamp in the wilderness, and thou shalt be to us instead of eyes.'"[1]

The spirit of a society may be not inaccurately determined by its definite expression of purpose. This is what the Northern Baptist Convention said about its brotherhood: "The purpose of the brotherhood shall be to promote the organization of men in our Churches, congregations, and communities, with reference to spiritual development, good fellowship, social betterment, civic and commercial righteousness, the re-enforcement of the Church, the evangelization of the world, and the brotherhood of man in Jesus Christ."[2]

A letter which was circulated in 1911 by the secretary of the Baptist Brotherhood contained these illuminating sentences: "The Baptist Brotherhood is an affiliation of men's leagues and Bible classes in the Baptist Churches within the territory of the Northern Baptist Convention. Of that convention it is the child, repeatedly recognized and recommended to the favor of the denomination. It is at once evident that every organization of men in the Baptist Churches under the Northern Baptist Convention should be affiliated with the brotherhood. If you have a weak and doddering men's organization, or none at all, plan in advance a progressive movement. Set about getting your men's society on a sound basis with a practical objective and some worth-while work to do. Let it have purpose as well as name. Make it frankly religious; do not dodge the thing you really stand for. Make it vigorously aggressive; let good citizenship, missions, organized philanthropy, work for boys, personal evangelism, the Church, be ends whose furtherance is effectively aimed at. No special form of constitution is required. You

[1] Rev. F. E. Marble, D. D., "Congregationalist and Christian at Work," 1908.

[2] The Baptist Brotherhood of the Northern Baptist Convention, "Constitution and By-laws," Headquarters, 168 Wabash Avenue, Chicago.

may be a men's Bible class or league; you may suit the form of work to the exigencies of the local situation; but you surely can accept the Brotherhood's declaration of purpose."[8]

During the progress of its history the Baptist Brotherhood in its various branches met with problems similar to those with which other brotherhoods have had to cope. As a result its leaders put out a pamphlet which contains many practical suggestions. "Very different methods will be found necessary to best meet varying conditions in separate localities. A brotherhood can not succeed unless some of the strongest and ablest men of the Church are back of the movement. The distinguishing feature of successful brotherhoods has been the 'Inventory.' The inventory is a business-like way of collecting and tabulating information as to just what service each man is rendering to his fellow-men in Church, unpaid public office, charitable organizations, philanthropic enterprises, etc. Blanks for taking this inventory may be secured from headquarters. The inventory will show just what men are overworked and just who need to be given something to do. Experience shows that there should be one committee for each activity upon which the brotherhood has determined to embark as well as on the activities recommended by the National brotherhood, in which all organizations share. Experience shows that it is wise to place at the head of a committee the man who is naturally most interested in the object of that particular committee. Subdividing committee work pretty closely has been found useful. It has not proved successful to resolve the whole brotherhood into a committee on any particular thing. In religion, as elsewhere, 'anybody's business is nobody's business.' Some brotherhoods have found a pledge very

[8] Charles L. Major, Secretary.

helpful as tending to make a member realize that he has entered into a solemn agreement."[4]

The Congregational Brotherhood of America after a very brief period of history put to itself the question, "Has the brotherhood made good?" and it answered that question in the following manner:

"Our National brotherhood has (1) brought a new masculine emphasis to the Churches; (2) kept central in all its work the ideal of brotherhood; (3) permeated the men's club movement with a religious purpose; (4) greatly increased the male percentage of activity and membership in the Churches; (5) launched the department of labor and social service; (6) loyally co-operated with great missionary societies; (7) established the National Boys' Brotherhood; (8) emphasized the element of aggressiveness in the denomination's life; (9) campaigned with the laymen's missionary movement; (10) joined in the inauguration of and will participate vigorously in 'the men and religion forward movement.' How could this be done better than through the brotherhood?"[5]

As in case of all the other denominational brotherhoods, general organization of the men of the Congregational Churches of America was preceded by many independent societies working under various names and with diversified plans and methods. At length, in 1907, the National Council of Congregational Churches appointed a committee of twenty-nine to institute a brotherhood. In April, 1908, a convention was held at Detroit, Mich., where the Congregational Brotherhood was formally launched. Other conventions, attended by representative men in considerable numbers, were held annually.

[4] Pamphlet, "What Is a Baptist Brotherhood?" Published by the American Baptist Publication Society.

[5] "The Brotherhood Era," May, 1911.

The purpose which animated the Congregational Brotherhood in its local organizations was declared to be "to bring the men of this community under the influence of Jesus Christ and His Church, that they may be true sons of God and real brothers of their fellowmen." The National brotherhood thus represented its object: "To encourage the organization of men in the Congregational Churches and unite all such organizations into one National body, so that we may labor together for the enlistment of men in the service of Christ, for increased efficiency in the local Church, for larger denominational vision and achievement, for the furtherance of righteousness, and, in fellowship with all other Christian bodies, for the promotion of the Kingdom of God to the ends of the earth."[6]

An elaborate plan of national, state, city, local and federated organizations was offered to the workers of this brotherhood. At the second convention, held in Minneapolis, October, 1909, one of the speakers declared that "the fundamental thought in this brotherhood movement is service. Nineteen centuries ago the Divine Master taught the truth that greatness consists in service; it was spoken in an age of supreme selfishness, when the man considered great was the one to whom the largest service was rendered. Christ's message, however, is slowly and surely revolutionizing the world. Through the years it has been permeating society until men everywhere are recognizing that they are their brothers' keepers, and that a self-centered life is unworthy. This is especially true in our free America. To quote from another, democracy means not, 'I am as good as you are,' but, 'You are as good as I am.' This is the spirit of the new brotherhood in Christ."[7]

[6] "The Relations and Functions of Brotherhood Organization," Rev. Frank Dyer, pp. 6 and 13.

[7] Samuel B. Capen, LL. D., "The Congregational Brotherhood," Brotherhood Press, Chicago, p. 43.

Perhaps no better comment could be made on this statement than to add some account of the Better Brattleboro Campaign, a Vermont outgrowth of the spirit of service possessed and exercised by the Congregational Brotherhood, and a campaign which has led to important deeds in other places. "In many respects," said the *Brotherhood Era* in describing this undertaking, "the most interesting piece of work the National brotherhood has undertaken is the campaign just completed in Brattleboro, Vt. It has aroused widespread interest. The Better Brattleboro (Vermont) Campaign grew out of the brotherhood of the Centre Congregational Church. A prominent layman of the Church gave a dinner to the brotherhood at which one hundred and eighty boys and men were present. In the pastor's study, after the meeting, the plan originated for a campaign to include all the men and boys of the town. This campaign idea was outlined: 'We believe in our own town, in its progress, its prosperity, and its improvement. Many factors go to make a town—good schools, successful business, wholesome recreation, happy homes, efficient churches. Our campaign stands for all of these. But back of all these stands the manhood of the town. Our campaign for a Better Brattleboro will begin with our own manhood. The men of to-day and the men of to-morrow making a town in which nothing shall hurt or destroy, but in which everything shall bless and build up—this is our ambition. In this undertaking all our citizens can strike hands and stand shoulder to shoulder in undivided comradeship. This is a campaign worthy of our manhood. To its successful prosecution we invite the hearty co-operation of every man and boy in Brattleboro.' "

The local ministers and churches of Brattleboro were asked to join the movement, and the Plan of Organization included: "The Campaign Committee—gen-

eral officers: chairman, vice-chairman, secretary, treasurer; Executive Committee—the officers, the chairmen of committees, and the pastors of the Brattleboro and West Brattleboro Churches; Church Survey Committee—to ascertain by actual count on a given Sunday morning, not previously announced, the percentage of males in attendance at public worship in all the churches; also the exact male percentage in the membership of the churches; the results not to be announced until the campaign begins; Moral Conditions Committee—to quietly investigate the institutions and life of the town to discover everything that may be injurious to the moral welfare of the people and to recommend a course of action which will promote public righteousness; School Committee—to co-operate with the school authorities in making the campaign popular and effective with the boys of the town; Shop Committee—to establish fraternal relations with the workingmen of the town; to secure their co-operation and participation in all the meetings of this campaign; Business Men's Committee—to secure the hearty participation of the business and professional men of the town in the campaign by their presence, active work, and the closing of the stores as much as possible evenings; Music Committee—to provide organist, cornetist, leader, soloists, orchestra, boys' chorus, and men's chorus; Invitation Committee—by visitation of every home and public place in the town to see that every man and boy in Brattleboro is invited to participate in the campaign and to attend the meetings; Publicity Committee—to prepare and provide all the printing and publicity necessary to make the campaign known attractively in Brattleboro and vicinity; Ushers' Committee—to take charge of the arrangements at all the public meetings, for the comfort and convenience of those attending, the seating, the offerings, and extending the welcome; Finance Committee—to devise ways and means of meeting

the expenses of the campaign and to supervise the expenditure of the funds raised.

"The Better Brattleboro Campaign inaugurated by the churches was unique in conception and expression. It was interdenominational, nonsectarian, and inclusive of all the elements in the community. It concerned itself with every phase of community life. The purpose of this campaign was to help build a city in which nothing shall hurt or destroy, but in which everything shall bless and build up, and the definite results attained were these: First, plans were adopted for a community center for young men and boys, to cost fifty thousand dollars, and a committee of representative men was appointed to carry out this plan. Second, a Better Brattleboro Platform was adopted, as an ideal for the community, covering ten phases of community life. About seven hundred men and boys pledged themselves to this community ideal. Third, a permanent Better Brattleboro League was organized to carry on the work begun in this series of meetings and to give constant attention to moral and social needs of the community. Fourth, it was voted unanimously to close the carriers' window of the postoffice on Sunday, giving the postoffice employees their Sundays free from toil. Fifth, the manhood of the community was lifted to higher levels by having loftiest ideals of individual and community life exalted and by having religion revealed in the most natural and manly fashion as something which is related to all life. Sixth, a new civic consciousness was created by bringing men and boys together from all walks of life to consider the things which relate to the common interests of the community life and by pledging themselves to work for this common interest. Seventh, a new appreciation of the place of the churches in a community—the community does not exist for the churches, but the churches for the community. The fact was emphasized that the

power and inspiration for all that is best in community life comes from public worship of God. Eighth, the Better Brattleboro Campaign revealed a new approach to the manhood of a city. It proved that there is a basis on which all the citizens of the community, irrespective of class, creed, or religious conviction, can come together and work for a civic betterment."[8]

This account may have been somewhat colored by the enthusiasm of local reporters, but it is given here as certainly indicating a method of work for civic betterment which has always been effective when conscientiously and ably undertaken, and one which, if it were more generally attempted, would stamp with evident value the whole brotherhood movement.

In 1908 the Brotherhood of the Disciples of Christ was formally launched at Kansas City, Mo. From a publication of this organization the following facts are gleaned: "The present movement for the organization of our men roots itself in the old 'Business Men's Association,' but its immediate history dates from a committee of seven men appointed at New Orleans at the National convention of 1908. This committee met at Kansas City on November 2d, where it organized. Its first activity was the issuance of a monthly magazine, *Christian Men.*"[9]

A model constitution, adopted early in the history of the Brotherhood of Disciples of Christ, and later revised, contained a preamble: "We, the undersigned men, in order to reap the fruits of fellowship in Christian service and, further, to express the unity which is in us through Christ Jesus, and for the purpose of extending this fellowship and unity by means of co-operation with other similar organizations among the Disciples of Christ, have

[8] "The Brotherhood Era," May, 1911.

[9] "A Brief History of the Brotherhood of the Disciples of Christ."

adopted the following Constitution and By-Laws and subscribed our names thereto."

The Brotherhood Covenant, presenting ideals for all men of the chapters, contained two parts: "Section 1. 'I recognize the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man, and believing in the ideals of Christ for the individual and for society, I hereby accept them for myself. I agree to make an earnest effort to observe the Golden Rule in all my dealings. As a Brotherhood man, I promise to be gentle with children, chivalrous toward women, and helpful to my fellow-men; to advance the Brotherhood objects and uplift the Brotherhood ideals.' Section 2. 'Pledge to Prayer and Personal Evangelism. I further promise to pray each day of my life for the extension of Christ's Kingdom and the union of God's people, and agree to make a personal endeavor each week to bring at least one man under the sway of Church and Brotherhood influence.' "

Special aims of the Brotherhood of Disciples of Christ were thus set forth: "Men for the ministry; money for missions; men's Bible classes in every Bible school; fellowship banquets; brotherhood help to the brotherhood man in distress; culture, fellowship; men at work in church and Bible-school, in Endeavor Society, and prayer-meeting; and highest standards of efficiency maintained everywhere throughout the Church."

Under the head of committee work it was announced that "for purposes of efficiency this Brotherhood shall maintain and operate in whole or in part the following sub-organizations, which may be known as departments, sections or, simplicity being desired, merely as committees: Bible study, social, civic, visiting, cultural, membership, fraternal aid, minute men, personal evangelism, missions, tenth legion, quiet hour or devotional, Comrades of Paul, brotherhood volunteers, sports and ath-

letics, young men, boys. Any of the above committees may be omitted at the will of the organization, or any other permanent committee may be added or substituted. You should have at least the following committees: 1. Program and social; 2. Bible school; 3. Devotional or prayer-meeting; 4. Missionary; 5. Boys' work; 6. Fraternal aid; 7. Membership. If necessary, omit other committees, but appoint at least these."[10]

By action taken at Portland, Ore., in July, 1911, the following individual memberships were established: Life membership, $500; centurion, per year $100; consulting, per year, $50; sustaining, $10; advisory, $5; general, $1. This membership is for persons living where no local chapter exists, and its revenues are used in support of the General Brotherhood, and entitles each person to receive the magazine of the organization and its other printed matter. Each general member signs the covenant and receives a card of identification. The Comrades of Paul are a company of members of the brotherhood who pledge money towards a fund "for the assistance of young men who are preparing themselves for the ministry of Jesus Christ, either in regular church service or upon the mission fields at home or abroad."

The effectiveness of the influence of a chapter of the Brotherhood of Disciples of Christ in at least one average congregation is illustrated in a pamphlet, "The Thing Wonderful," by which is meant the Spirit of Brotherhood, and which enlisted men in interested Bible Study, paid a church debt, helped needy families, introduced a new good-will among the men of the church, and brought much encouragement to the pastor.[11] Among the advantages to the individual congregation which it is believed the Brotherhood of Disciples of

[10] "Model Constitution," published by the Brotherhood of Disciples of Christ, R. A. Long Building, Kansas City, Mo.

[11] "The Thing Wonderful," Vaughan Dabney, pp. 6 and 7.

Christ has produced, a friend has named a "spurring of the men up to what they owe God in holy service," a new "social touch of the men," and a bringing out of "the business sense."[12]

The year 1909 witnessed the organization of two additional church brotherhoods in evangelical churches: the Lutheran Brotherhood and the Otterbein Brotherhood. In the same year the National League of Unitarian Laymen was also formed, following by a year a National League of Universalist Laymen.

Before the General Synod and General Council of Lutheran Churches of America established the Lutheran Brotherhood, men's organizations existed so widely in the local churches of these denominational bodies that probably three hundred of these institutions contained more than ten thousand membership. This was no small beginning for a combined movement, and while many of the existing societies were chiefly engaged in Bible-class work, and were only beginning to discharge broader functions, they were ready for a forward step.

"These conditions were presented in a memorial to the General Synod of the Lutheran Church in 1907. Favorable action was taken and a committee appointed to take steps in the direction proposed. The report of this committee in the convention of 1909, giving a careful review of the situation and recommending immediate action, was favorably received. A committee of ten was appointed, the duty of which was to inaugurate and give general direction to the movement. It was given power to take all needed steps for its thorough organization, encourage its introduction into congregations, and as soon as practicable effect a federation of all Lutheran men's societies into a general organization for the entire Church. It was instructed at once to prepare a form of constitution and such other literature as may

[12] Dr. Frank Talmage, "Christian Men," October, 1911.

be needed for an intelligent understanding of the movement and its successful introduction into the churches."[13]

The constitution, as it was finally adopted, said: "The object of the Brotherhood shall be: 1. To lead men into fellowship with Christ and the Church; 2. To promote the spiritual, intellectual, and social welfare of its members; 3. To quicken the activity and increase the efficiency of the congregation with which it is connected; 4. To give to men in every condition of life, especially in times of trial, the stimulus of Christian comradeship and the inspiration that comes from association with men of kindred aims. As a brotherhood it stands for everything that tends to a noble manhood."[14]

In the plan of organization ten committees were provided for and were assigned definite duties. These were: "1. A Devotional Committee, which shall arrange for appropriate religious exercises for each regular meeting of the brotherhood. 2. A Program Committee, which shall arrange an interesting and profitable program for each meeting. 3. A Membership Committee, which shall seek out those who should be in the brotherhood, consider all applications for membership, and exercise oversight over the membership roll. 4. A Sunday School Committee, which shall give every assistance possible to the Sunday school of the congregation, especially by gathering men into Bible classes and rallying them to its support. 5. A Missionary Committee, which shall co-operate heartily in the missionary work of the congregation, encouraging benevolent giving and spreading missionary intelligence among the brotherhood. With the advice and consent of the pastor it may lead the brotherhood in various forms of city mission work. 6. A Social Com-

[13] "The Lutheran Brotherhood," Lutheran Publication Society, p. 54.
[14] Ibid, issued from headquarters, Philadelphia, p. 62.

mittee, which shall promote the social interests of the brotherhood by giving a cordial welcome to men, especially strangers, as they come to the meetings, and at all church services. It shall provide for such social gatherings, in harmony with the spirit of the brotherhood, as will be helpful. 7. An Athletic Committee, which shall have charge of the physical culture department of the brotherhood. It shall provide such athletic sports as are of unquestioned propriety and which will tend to the moral as well as the physical development of the men and boys of the congregation. 8. A Relief Committee, which shall visit the sick, cheer the discouraged, aid men in securing employment, and, when temptations come, throw around the tempted brother the arms of Christian helpfulness. 9. A Committee on Junior Work, which shall devise ways and means for inspiring and training the boys of the congregation to lives of usefulness. Whenever practical, it shall gather them into junior chapters of the brotherhood, where its principles are taught. This constitution, modified to meet their needs, may also be used by Junior Brotherhoods. 10. A Correspondence and Publicity Committee, which shall keep in touch with other chapters of the brotherhood, learning from them of successful methods of work and reporting the same. It shall distribute and call attention to books, tracts, and papers that will promote useful information. It shall prepare and distribute cards of invitation, and see that the work of the brotherhood is kept before the men of the church and the community. Other standing committees in harmony with the spirit of the brotherhood may be appointed as the Executive Committee may think necessary."[15]

The badge of the brotherhood has historic interest as representing Luther's coat-of-arms. The first convention was held at Washington in June, 1911. The governing

[15] "The Lutheran Brotherhood," cit. sup., pp. 63-65.

thought was "Organization for Service," and the result of the meeting was instructive and inspiring to the gatherings of Lutheran men which were held since that date, and was formative in the history of the movement concerning which it was early said: "The latent power of our Lutheran laity has been quickened into life, and we are just beginning to realize what a great sleeping giant we have had at our very doors. This organization has struck a sympathetic and vibrating chord in our congregations, and the awakened manhood of our churches has responded in no uncertain tones. One of the strongest features of the Brotherhood Movement is that it appeals to all that is best and noblest in our manhood. It recognizes man's desire for work. It gives a definite aim to his highest efforts. It brings out all that is best in his nature, and sets before him a high and lofty ideal. It encourages a commendable church pride and promotes intelligent and loyal service. It is man's work for man. It opens up for him new avenues of thought, and provides work for him that is worthy of his highest endeavor. It awakens him to his responsibility and sets his duty clearly before him."[16]

In 1906 the bishops of the United Brethren Church appointed a committee to consider the formation of a men's organization for the denomination, but while various conventions were held in the interest of the new undertaking, it was not until the General Conference of 1909 that a memorial prepared by the committee could be considered and official action taken. The outcome was the Otterbein Brotherhood, named in honor of Philip William Otterbein, the founder of the United Brethren Church.[17]

It was the stated purpose of the Otterbein Brother-

[16] "The Brotherhood Promoting an Intelligent and Loyal Lutheran Laity," W. L. Armiger.

[17] See "Life of Otterbein," by Drury.

hood "to challenge every man to appreciate what is his responsibility as a Christian, and then quicken him to fulfill that obligation. To promote and stimulate men's loyalty to the church and to every organized activity in and through the church for the doing of all the things that the church ought to do." Provision was made for a general, a conference, and a local brotherhood. Of the general brotherhood "the legislative and executive authority is in the Board of Control of Sunday School, Brotherhood, and Young People's Work, as authorized by the General Conference."

The organization proclaimed that "objectives of service of the General and of the Conference Brotherhoods are: 1. Recognition of men. 2. Organized Bible classes for men and young men in every Sunday school in the Conference. 3. Increasing the efficiency of individual men's classes and other men's organizations by the brotherhood ideals of service. 4. Enlistment of men in the Christian life and in all conference and community enterprises calling for the co-operation of the Christian masculine forces."

In the publications of the Otterbein Brotherhood a painstaking and well-nigh complete program of work was given under the headings, "Brotherhood Features," "Local Church Work," "Social Service," "Boys' Work," and "Missionary."[18] The first two of these divisions are here reproduced as being typical and most suggestive. As brotherhood features, "explain and advertise the brotherhood, its purposes and methods, and endeavor to interest men who heretofore have found little to attract or occupy them in the church. Organize and use a band or orchestra. Co-operate with local fraternal orders in relief work. Keep helpfully close to men who are trying to break with bad habits and evil

[18] Pamphlet, "Men at Work," Walter L. Bunger, published by the Board of Control, United Brethren Building, Dayton, O.

environments. Help men to find lodgings, friends, work, and better positions. Work out and inaugurate practical plans for fraternalizing the church. Make masculine comradeship and good fellowship prominent at all times. Make the church a place where its members may look for help and friendship in times of sickness, distress, bereavement, and misfortune. Help to bring the church up to the place where it will offer to the artisan, mechanic, and laboring man better privileges than those he seeks in his fraternal order. Honor deceased members by floral offerings, and hold memorial services. Discover and report cases of sickness; visit the sick. Give temporary relief to poor and distressed. Especially, give friendly counsel to the unfortunate. Give special attention to strangers in the community. Advertise the church so it can be found by visitors to your city. Welcome visitors to the brotherhood and Bible class meetings. Endeavor to enroll every man who can help or be helped by the brotherhood. Keep helpfully in touch with all the members. Arrange initiation and installation ceremonies. Get up entertaining programs, such as mock trial, symposiums, and ladies' night. Have at least an annual banquet for all the men of the church and community. Promote men's dinners, to which non-churchmen of the neighborhood are invited. Encourage volunteer preaching upon the part of laymen who have the ability. Discover new men to attend conventions and conferences. Help to pay their way. Have a meeting for fathers about boys. Hold down-town noon-day luncheons for men for social and church interests. Keep the general office informed as to change of officers. Send in information of general interest for publication in the *Telescope* and *Watchword*. By all means see that your men, whom you want to be intelligent, enthusiastic, and active members are subscribers to the denominational

papers. Have a framed charter on the wall of the meeting-place."

Under the head of "Local Church Work" it was urged by the founders of the Otterbein Brotherhood: "Be friends and comrades of the minister. 'Pray for the only man in your church who has no pastor.' Brace up the prayer-meeting. Do 'Scout' duty for the pastor. Assist the pastor in all his plans of work and worship. Print best sermons of pastor. Boost church attendance by invitation and advertisement. Visit hotels, boarding and lodging houses, and invite men to attend church. Get men who are on the church 'side lines' into the game. Organize the church on some comprehensive plan, so that the power of the manhood of the church may be employed to the greatest advantage. Give personal labor to repair or improve church building. Print a church bulletin. Usher at church services. Put into church management business methods and system. Assume responsibility for the financial support of the church. Advertise in attractive and modern ways the church and church services. Dignify the church service by a large attendance of men. Keep church statistics as to attendance, etc. Attract men into the church by showing them that the church has a program for efficient work under intelligent leadership. Quicken the zeal of the newcomer and involve him by giving him a definite job suited to his taste and ability. Plan an every-day use and broader use of the church and its equipment. By definite methods win men to church membership. Inspire devotion and loyalty to the church. Furnish substitute teachers for the Sunday school. Actively co-operate with the Sunday school superintendent and other officers of the church. Organize a brotherhood Bible class in the school. Urge and assist in organizing brotherhood Bible classes in other

churches. Organize teachers' training class. Conduct Sunday evening meetings, and help to boost them. Conduct shop meetings. Hold services and man Sunday schools in unchurched sections of the city and country. Conduct business men's noon meetings down town. Organize a continuous man-to-man evangelistic campaign. Hold open-air evangelistic services. Visit prisons, hospitals, almshouses. Organize and conduct personal workers' training class. Have a 'secret service' group. Arrange for appropriate and sincere observance of the Week of Prayer. Organize a prayer band to meet with the pastor before the services of Sunday. Establish noon-day Bible classes in shops, stores, etc. Promote and assist general evangelistic campaigns."

That much of the work indicated in the literature and recommended by the officers has been actually done in various places by the Otterbein Brotherhood reliable reports attest, and the family of Church brotherhoods was strengthened by this accession.

Within fifty years all Protestant Churches as well as the Church of Rome have organized their men for a more systematic and aggressive advancement of Christ's Kingdom. If this had not been done, Christianity would before long have been outclassed in the competitive struggle of the world's interests. At the present time, as the concluding chapter of this book abundantly proves, a larger number of men are taking their place in Christian activities than has been the case for many centuries. Except in the time of the Crusades, when it must be admitted that Christianity was more martial than spiritual, and when the ambitions and passions of men were much more deeply stirred than were their moral aspirations, never were such armies enlisted under the banners of Jesus Christ as are now mustered into His service. To what event? To new and greater

triumphs, let it be hoped—triumphs of virtue over vice, of justice over oppression, of love over lust of gain. But first must come a deeper sense of need and of peril through sin, yes, and that high courage which will have honor or death, for it is still true, as Mazzini said, that "the angels of martyrdom and victory are brothers."

XX

LAYMEN'S UNIONS, LEAGUES, AND CLUBS

MEN'S SOCIETY MISCELLANY.

ALTHOUGH the organization period of the past half century banded together vast numbers of independent or federated groups of Christian men in the Protestant Churches, many of these still exist, and not a few which have merged into various Church brotherhoods deserve remembrance for their ideals and good works. In order to complete the survey of the united efforts of Christian men, the history of typical societies of this kind which have not been mentioned elsewhere in this volume will be briefly considered.

For three hundred years on the continent of Europe and in Great Britain, and from Colonial days in America, local organizations in various Churches, as has been previously stated, endeavored to serve the various religious and social needs of men. A number of these were temperance societies, others were Bible or literary groups, some were social or philanthropic, and quite a number were related to special church work, as for example the care and development of the Sunday night service. Unfortunately few records of the earlier independent societies have been preserved, those who organized and maintained them having been intent merely on the needs of the hour and the practical results to be obtained.

It has been seen that the German Young Men's Christian Associations, whose origin was somewhat earlier than those of Great Britain and America, were at first

purely local societies operating within the individual churches, and that to this time the Christlicher Jünglingsverein is rather a federation of independent bodies than an organic union.[1] Notation has also been made of the fact that various local and connected societies preceded the establishment in America of the very successful Young Men's Christian Association.

At various times organizations largely or wholly of men were formed in the Churches for the purpose of promoting internal reforms in doctrines or practices, or for the teaching and development of new ideas and methods. Germany afforded a typical instance of this in the Protestantenverein, or Protestant Association. This society was founded in 1863 at Frankfort-on-the-Main. Its promoters were clergymen, university professors, and publicists who desired to further the cause of liberalism in the German Protestant State churches. It was felt by these men that German Protestantism, still jealously divided by Calvinistic and Lutheran contentions, was creed-bound, obscurantist, and opposed to inquiry and progress. The association sought to prevent the growth of prelacy and of clericalism in the Protestant Church, and it opposed also the claims of the papacy. Both a general Protestantenverein and sectional unions were formed. The conservative majority opposed this party within the Church and restricted the opportunities of its members. Through the influence of the association, however, the government in 1879 passed the May or Falk laws, designed to destroy Roman Catholicism and to reorganize the Protestant State Church, but which the policies of party leaders later repealed. The more reserved and orthodox influences have proven to be stronger than those of the Protestantenverein, which has, nevertheless, not failed to affect powerfully the religious thought and life of Germany, and which has pre-

[1] Supra, p. 221.

sented to other bodies a method of propagating the views of a Church minority. The Church of England presents several instances of somewhat similar combinations to effect a spiritual or ecclesiastical purpose within the parent body, and the same may be said of the Roman Catholic and of other communions.

When the Church undertook to use laymen in sub-clerical functions, societies began to be established to conserve the interests of these men, who of course constituted Christian brotherhoods by virtue of their common tasks and relationships. This fact appeared in connection with the accounts of Roman Catholic orders, and what was said is true of Anglican lay readers. The Methodist Churches of Great Britain and of America enlisted in their work large numbers of local preachers, and in the United States the National Association of Local Preachers was formed in 1858 in New York City. A chief charge of this body was the care of Taylor University, located at Upland, Ind., and named in honor of the missionary bishop William Taylor. A class of lay-ministers of much earlier date and of considerable historical interest were "The Men" of the religious communities of Northern Scotland. These persons, in later times confined mainly to the Free Church, were formerly much more numerous than is the case at present, and in the parts of the Scotch Highlands where the Gaelic language prevails they have had much prominence. A scanty supply of regular preachers and the necessities of large and scattered parishes gave rise to an order of persons whose piety, gifts in prayer and in exhortation, and strong personalities led them to gain a repute for godliness whereby they passed by common consent and without formalities into the select number called The Men. The lyke-wakes gave them sufficient opportunity for the exercise of their powers of petition, as did the meetings conducted for Christian fellowship.

On Friday before communion, services are held in preparation for the sacrament, and by reason of the exercises in the charge of these laymen, this occasion came to be popularly called "Men's Day." The Men often assumed a special garb, and they received a reverence which led in exceptional instances to spiritual pride and to acts of willfulness. Generally speaking, however, the labors of these Presbyterian counterparts of the lay preachers of Wyckliffe and of Wesley tended to keep spiritual religion alive in places neglected by careless ministers, or which were unfurnished with an adequate supply of gospel ordinances, and only the improvement of conditions in modern times sufficed to lessen the number and activity of these useful leaders.[2]

Coming to the consideration of local organizations of churchmen engaged in parish work, it may be stated that Professor Cressey assembled a list, which, however, is of necessity very incomplete, but which contained typical names of such brotherhoods.[3] During the last half of the nineteenth century many Sunday Evening Clubs were formed in the churches, the object of which was to build up the constituency of the second service "by rendering all possible assistance to the pastor, as by invitations, advertising, and kindred efforts, the sermon being usually shortened in order to allow for special musical features." These societies were usually composed of the younger men of the church and Sunday school, and not infrequently they succeeded in greatly strengthening the attendance and the influence of the Sunday night meeting. Of the churches which made history through work of this nature, a few are cited as illustrative. The Austin (Illinois) Presbyterian Club established thirteen committees: worship, music, printing and advertising, ushers, invitation, social and entertain-

[2] Auld, "Ministers and Men of the Far North," p. 142 ff.

[3] "The Church and Young Men," pp. 135-148.

ment, finance, membership, decoration, coat and hat, choristers, census, executive. The society at the Congregational Church, Burlington, Iowa, built up "a permanent congregation varying from six hundred to a thousand." The Sprague Memorial Presbyterian Church, Tacoma, found that the services sustained by the club were "always evangelistic." The Congregational Church, Platteville, Wis., had men "work for the success of the services who were doing nothing before, perhaps not even attending." The First Congregational Church, Appleton, Wis., built up a club membership which at the end of five years was five hundred and sixty, and which increased the Sunday night service from one hundred and fifty to six hundred and fifty, "and in other ways helped to make the Church a house of life." At the Oak Park (Illinois) Presbyterian Church the evening audience doubled.[4]

The name Men's Club was long popular in many churches, and while the modern tendency in many denominations is away from the club idea, local and federated organizations of this name are widely known. National conferences of church clubs have been held, but in the main these organizations have been independent.[5] Among the churches whose Men's Clubs have at one time or another been famous a few may be named: Westminster Presbyterian Church, Buffalo;[6] Richmond Avenue Methodist Episcopal Church, Buffalo; Plymouth Congregational Church, Lincoln, Neb.; Markham Memorial Presbyterian Church, St. Louis; Euclid Avenue Baptist Church, Cleveland; First Congregational Church, Jersey City; Judson Memorial Baptist

[4] Mead, op. cit., devotes chapter ix to "The Men's Sunday Evening Club."

[5] "The Living Church Annual" contains information about the National Conference of Church Clubs in the Protestant Episcopal Church.

[6] A somewhat full account of the history of this club is found in Mead, op. cit., pp. 154-156.

Church, New York. Several hundred other churches might be cited as having had successful experience with Men's Clubs, and these societies have often done exceedingly practical work. For example, the Lincoln (Nebraska) Club, above mentioned, not only took charge of the evening services of the church, but some years since combined with other clubs to vote out the saloons. "We saw to it that every voter in our section of the city who was favorable to no license got out and voted."[1] The Westminster Club of Buffalo established and maintained a social settlement, known as Westminster House, and which became a very effective adjunct to the work of the church. Many clubs have established reading-rooms, gymnasiums, accident and sick benefit societies and burial funds, employment bureaus, literary societies, and other useful adjuncts. At one time the Euclid Avenue Club, Cleveland, above mentioned, had a list of one thousand men to whom invitations and other literature were sent by mail. Loan associations, fresh-air funds, military organizations with drills, lectures, and banquets characterize Men's Club life, which is apt to be rather social than spiritual or fraternal, constituting in at least exceptional instances a source of weakness rather than of strength to the religious influence of the Church.

One reason for the rapid displacement of Men's Clubs in most of the Protestant Churches was stated at about the time of the beginning of this movement in a paper in *The Brotherhood Movement* by Judge J. N. Haymaker of Wichita, Kan., a prominent member of the Brotherhood of Disciples of Christ, who said: "I believe every organization should be affiliated with a head, or central, organization. The advantages of such connection are obvious. The leaders connected with this central or head organization are men of education, lead-

[1] Reported by L. J. Marsh, "Brotherhood Era," 1909.

ers of thought, spiritually-minded and enthusiastic in their work, who devote all their time, talent, and energy to it. These men not only think and plan for the success of the work, but in addition they come in contact with live, active men devoted to the same line of work throughout the country, and are constantly getting new ideas, suggestions, and points of information from them. They are peculiarly fitted and prepared for this work. There should be a vital connection between the local organization and this central or head organization."[8]

The exclusively spiritual character of the Brotherhood of St. Andrew leaves room in the Protestant Episcopal Church for a broader organization, and in that communion the Men's Club is considered a necessary aid to church work. The strong organizations of this kind in St. George's and St. Bartholomew's, New York, equipped with modern club features of the latest type are followed more or less completely in the institutional undertakings in many other parishes and cities. An editorial in the Waterbury *American* gives an instructive estimate of the value of this work: "Winter is the season when the men's Church club is very much in evidence. Either it is giving a dinner, or it is holding a meeting for important business, or it is listening to an attractive and celebrated speaker from outside the town, or it is engaging in a social of some kind or description. Everybody's attention is called to the fact that at this season, at least, the Church club is a very active and live organization. There is no question that the Church club does fill an important place in the Church activities of the present day. It brings together a lot of men, as men, for purposes of acquaintance and mutual friendliness even if it does nothing directly in the matter of stimulating the religious life. It attaches men to the Church, makes them feel that the Church is in some

[8] Reported in "Methodist Men."

part their own. Among many of these it arouses a certain feeling of obligation to take part in regular Church activities and to give to the Church some of their time and thought. It does not always follow that the members of a men's club will be seen in the pews with regularity. A good many such club members play golf on Sundays more frequently than they hear sermons. But, nevertheless, they do go to Church oftener than they would probably except for the Church club, and they have their attention called to religion in a personal way, something that otherwise they might absolutely lose thought of. Many Church clubs lead to brotherhoods. This is the modern way of making practical the religious life. There is no question that a man can be a very active business man, and at the same time do not a little to promote practical religion among his friends, acquaintances, and all others whom he may chance to meet, businesswise or socialwise. In so far as Church club life leads to this kind of inspiration among men of business, men of society, men of the world, it is doing a great work. These are the men who are needed in the Church to-day. Such a result is, of course, ideal. But in any case the men's Church club does meet a long-felt want, a gathering-place for the men of the Church, whether they are more or less devoted. For even this interest in the Church does create a condition of mind and attitude that furthers a more general interest among men in the Church and in its work."[9]

Many other names may be cited of local organizations which were men's clubs or brotherhoods, and which were useful in their time. A good part of these were later merged into the general organizations, and as few of them present features not covered by societies which have been treated they are mentioned merely to add comprehensiveness to this survey of Christian men's

[9] Reproduced in "St. Andrew's Cross," April, 1911.

work. Dr. Reisner, in one of his books described the "Parish Brotherhood" at the First Methodist Episcopal Church, New Haven; the "Men's Association" of the Brick Presbyterian Church, New York, and the "Men's Prayer Circle" of Boyle Heights Methodist Episcopal Church, Los Angeles.[10] Dr. Mead represented the work of the "Men's Social Club" of Grace Episcopal Church, New York.[11] Professor Cressey listed a "Men's Union," Dudley Street Baptist Church, Boston; "Men's Guild," Central Congregational Church, Brooklyn; "Men's League," Broadway Tabernacle, New York, of which several other important societies are cited by Mead; "Young Men's Club," St. Matthew's Lutheran Church, Philadelphia, and First Baptist Church, St. Paul; "Young Men's Fraternity," Ashland Avenue Baptist Church, Toledo; "Young Men's Social Union," First Baptist Church, Lansing; "Young Men's Christian Brotherhood," Methodist Episcopal Church, Belvidere, Ill.; "Gideon's Band," First Baptist Church, Shenandoah, Iowa; "Young Men's Christian League," Memorial Baptist Church, Los Angeles.[12] In several places Brotherhoods of St. James and of St. John have existed, and have been leagued together. Very few possible combinations of men's society names seem to have been overlooked, but it is doubtless better that the period of consolidation of societies and of co-ordination of efforts should have intervened to bring the men's work of the churches first into denominational unity, and then into federations for common purposes which have been proving important and indicative of greater achievements in the not distant future.

Before this type of local men's societies is passed, a more adequate presentation should be made of the va-

[10] "Workable Plans for Wide-Awake Churches," Christian F. Reisner, D. D., chapter ix, "Winning and Working the Men."

[11] Op. cit., p. 158.

[12] Op. cit., pp. 137-139.

rious benefit associations in the churches. The Brotherhood of St. Paul established a number of mutual benefit branches which were taken over by the Methodist Brotherhood. Among the most successful of these were the branches at Riverside, Buffalo; University Avenue, Syracuse; and Central Church, Detroit. The Pilgrim Fraternal Association in Pilgrim Congregational Church, Dorchester, was established in 1893. A report made in 1908 showed that during the first fifteen years of its history this organization paid all the benefits due and accumulated more than one thousand dollars balance.[18] The Mutual Benefit Branch of the Methodist Brotherhood at Central Church, Detroit, has made an even better showing. The Fraternal Guild of St. Mark's Episcopal Church, Denver, adopted an initiation fee of two dollars, and dues of fifty cents a month; at death the families of members to have seventy-five dollars, and a member "in dire need" to receive fifty dollars. The St. Paul's Society of the Brick Presbyterian Church, New York, and "The Burial Society" of the same parish determined to pay fifty dollars on the death of a member, raised by assessments. The above are illustrations of a kind of church work which could wisely be far more general than is the case. In this connection it may be stated that several insurance societies for Christian workers are very successful. The Presbyterian Ministers' Fund is the oldest old-line life insurance company. It was founded in 1759. Originally to insure the lives of Presbyterian ministers, it later received other clergymen as members, and its head office is in Philadelphia. The Protestant Episcopal society is called the Clergymen's Mutual Insurance League, with the office at Mt. Vernon, New York. The Methodist Mutual, located in Boston, and several Conferences of the Methodist Episcopal Church established their own

[18] "Congregationalist," April 25, 1908.

insurance societies, as did also a number of other denominational bodies. Several accident and fire insurance companies are controlled by churchmen in their own interest. The employed officers of the Young Men's Christian Association of America some years since instituted an "Insurance Alliance," which was based on the assessment plan.[14] Roman Catholic institutions of this character have been considered elsewhere.

Reference has been made to societies for workingmen. Some years since both local and general organizations, whose purpose was to look after the religious and social needs of the laboring classes, were inaugurated by various churches. The Young Men's Institute of Greenstone Presbyterian Church, Pullman, Ill., was an illustration of the local society of this kind. No membership fee was required. The equipment was reading-room, gymnasium, bowling-alley, and lecture-hall. The Church of the Carpenter, of Boston, was established for the purpose of arousing church interest in social matters. The Protestant Episcopal Church has two societies which have labored for the improvement of the industrial classes: the Church Association for the Advancement of the Interests of Labor, established in 1887, with Bishop F. D. Huntington as president, and which "works by sermons, prayer, corporate communion, lectures, distribution of literature, political action, and co-operation with other societies;" and the Church Social Union, organized in 1891 as the Christian Social Union, with Dr. R. A. Holland as prime mover and Prof. R. T. Ely, the well-known sociologist, as secretary, and which is working on the same plans as those of the similar society in the Church of England.[15] The Guild of St.

[14] Reisner, op. cit., p. 215.

[15] See articles, "Church and Social Reform," and "England and Social Reform," in "The Encyclopedia of Social Reform," Bliss, especially pp. 275 and 568. For list of officers and other details of the social reform societies of the American Church, see "Living Church Annual."

Matthew, as well as the Christian Social Union of England, has labored very earnestly for the betterment of working people. Although the Anglican societies are not exclusively composed of men, they have been practically Christian brotherhoods and should be so classed, as should also be reckoned the Brotherhood of the Kingdom, mainly of Baptists, and devoted to the same undertakings. This society was established in New York City in 1893 by the earnest efforts of two Baptist laymen. Among the principles stated were these: "Every member shall by his personal life exemplify obedience to the ethics of Jesus. He shall propagate the thoughts of Jesus to the limits of his ability in private conversations, by correspondence, and through pulpit, platform, and press. He shall lay special stress on the social aims of Christianity, and shall endeavor to make Christ's teaching concerning wealth operative in the Church. On the other hand, he shall take pains to keep in contact with the common people and to infuse the religious spirit into the efforts for social amelioration."[16]

In England and on the continent of Europe workingmen's clubs, apart from labor unions and benefit or friendly societies, have been largely developed. Many of these are irreligious and immoral. Others are mere amusement clubs, while some are philanthropic, supported or assisted by the Church, and devoted to teetotalism, and to educational and social efforts. On the continent workingmen's clubs are generally either socialistic or are under Church auspices, the Roman Church both in Europe and in America having devoted considerable attention to the laboring classes. The Militia of Christ for Social Service represents this work. In 1911 members of eleven Protestant bodies of New York City formed a committee to promote arbitration in industrial disputes, and Roman

[16] "Encyclopedia of Social Reform," p. 192.

Catholic leaders in social service offered to co-operate. The outgrowth is organization for the study of general industrial conditions, and for their amelioration in times of misunderstanding and of strife.[17] The Wesleyan Methodist Union for Social Service organized study classes to consider questions connected with the subject of charity, and it related itself also to the problems of work and wages, and during the early years of the twentieth century a similar work was attempted in the Methodist Churches of America.

Nearly all Churches have laymen's unions or associations, mainly of men, and which are officially recognized parts of the church machinery. These organizations often have local branches, and sometimes are instituted in the various bodies representing the territorial divisions of the Churches: dioceses, conferences, synods, and the like. The Church Laymen's Union of the Protestant Episcopal Church is a missionary organization of laymen in various cities of America whose aim is "not missions to men, but men to missions. That is, not appeals from mission fields by way of missionary societies, but men, in a business way, doing their part without appeals." In the Methodist Episcopal Church many Annual Conferences have effective laymen's associations. One of these bodies states thus its objects: "To mutually interest the laymen throughout the bounds of the West Virginia Methodist Episcopal Conference in all the general affairs of the Church, and especially in every local interest whereby the Church may be stirred up to a greater efficiency and usefulness in the hands of God in advancing His cause."[18] When the laity are admitted to the Annual Conferences of Methodism it may be found,

[17] The inauguration of the movement was reported in "Methodist Men," June, 1911.

[18] From the Constitution as printed in the "Official Journal and Minutes," a book of 164 pages.

as in case of Churches which combine lay and clerical orders in all councils, that such organizations as the above are unneeded.

It is in entire harmony with the purpose which is being served to insert in this record of adjunct societies a statement of the principles of the American Guild of Organists, chartered in 1896 by the Regents as a part of the University of the State of New York. All of the incorporators, twenty-two in number, were men, and of one hundred and forty-six charter members all were men save four. Thus, while a number of women are admitted, the organization is essentially a brotherhood. The objects of the guild are given in this form: "a. To advance the cause of worthy church music; to elevate the status of church organists; to increase their appreciation of their responsibilities, duties, and opportunities as conductors of worship, and to obtain acknowledgment of their position from the authorities of the Church. b. To raise the general efficiency of organists by a system of examinations and certificates, and by the fostering of solo organ playing. c. To provide opportunities for intercourse among organists; for the discussion of questions of interest in connection with their work, and for hearing model performances of sacred compositions."

The Christian character of the American Guild of Organists is indicated in its high and beautiful "Declaration of Principles.:" "For the greater glory of God, and the good of the Holy Church in this land, we being severally members of the American Guild of Organists, do declare our mind and intention in the things following: We believe that the Office of Music in Christian Worship is a Sacred Obligation before the Most High. We believe that they who are set as Choirmasters and as Organists in the House of God ought themselves to

be persons of devout conduct, teaching the ways of earnestness in the choirs committed to their charge. We believe that the unity of purpose and fellowship of life between Ministers and Choirs should be everywhere established and maintained. We believe that at all times and in all places it is meet, right, and our bounden duty to work and to pray for the advancement of Christian Worship in the holy gifts of strength and nobleness; to the end that the Church may be purged of her blemishes, that the minds of men may be instructed, that the honor of God's house may be guarded in our time, and in the time to come. Wherefore we do give ourselves with reverence and humility to these endeavors, offering up our works and our persons in the Name of Him without Whom nothing is strong, nothing is holy."[19]

It certainly is a most encouraging sign of the holier spirit which is needed in divine worship that the organists of America, following the examples of similar assistants in the ministry of religion in other lands, have espoused such ideals as these, and all who seek to actualize these principles will surely be devout and able helpers of the Christian ministry and Churches.

Perhaps the most unique brotherhood of Protestant origin is the work of a single individual and of a little group of devotees whom he is gathering about him for the conversion of high-caste natives of India. The Brotherhood of the Imitation of Jesus was started about 1906 by a young Protestant Episcopal churchman of Philadelphia, whose labors are under the patronage of the Bishop of Lahore. The first description of the work of Mr. Samuel Stokes, Jr., was contributed by himself in 1908 to *The East and the West,* at the request of the editor of that journal.[20] In that writing Mr. Stokes re-

[19] American Guild of Organists, United States and Canada; Charters, Constitution and By-laws issued from 21 E. Seventeenth St., New York City.

[20] Republished also in "St. Andrew's Cross" for October, 1908.

fers very briefly to his experiences on undertaking to become a missionary friar. "It would be useless," he says, "to speak of the various circumstances which led up to this decision, or of the misunderstandings and prejudice aroused when I made my purpose known. Everything unusual must at first arouse prejudice. In August, 1906, if I remember rightly, I distributed what things I possessed among the people who needed them, and after three days spent alone in prayer, assumed the Friar's robe and the obligations of a Friar's life as I understand them. From then I have been trying, though not very successfully, to live up to this ideal. I have not always been true to it, and have been making blunders continually; nevertheless, God has given so many opportunities of service, and showed me so many openings which could be taken advantage of, were there but men to enter in, that I know that His blessing is upon the work."

The study of Oriental thought which he had made had led Mr. Stokes to believe that the Indian has a very lofty ideal, to which few even try to live up, believing that this is impossible. He conceived that the need was not to present an ideal to those who already had one so lofty, but to convince them that they could attain their own ideal, and that the way to do so was Christ. In no country, the dreamer said to himself, is there so deep a realization of the superiority of the Spiritual as exists in India, and when the people of that land once become convinced that spiritual perfection is in reach of every man they will astonish the world. Thus it became the ambition of this youth so to live Christ before the Indian people that they might be convinced of the spiritual power of Christianity, and be moved to accept it without being implored or urged.

It was, of course, the influence of Francis of Assisi which led Samuel Stokes, Jr., to seek by the literal fol-

lowing of Jesus to propagate His gospel. The impression of duty which came to him may best be stated in his own language. "It may seem curious to some that I chose to enter upon the Friar's life when seeking a way to imitate our Lord. It was because Jesus has always seemed to me to be the perfect Friar. For the Friar, as the blessed St. Francis conceived him, was one who tried to conform his life in all particulars to the life of Jesus. He was not a monk dwelling apart from the world, but a brother of men, and dwelling among them. He came 'not to be ministered to, but to minister,' as his Master had done before him; hence his life was one of service. He did not necessarily bind himself with the three vows in order to mortify his flesh or to raise a wall of separation between himself and the world, but rather because marriage, wealth, and independence were none of them factors in the life of Him whom he sought to follow. He strove to attain to the devotion, love, and humble self-abnegation of Jesus, and he aimed at an implicit obedience to His commands. The result was that he could glory in hardships, and rejoice when men despised him and set him at naught, for he felt himself to be a partaker in the service and cross of his Lord. He learned to bless those who cursed and slandered him, to pray from his heart for those who persecuted him, to serve with humble joy the lowest and vilest of men, for life was Christ to him, and death was gain. His home was in the dark and sorrowful places of the earth. There he sought to shine for his Master as a light in the midst of the gloom. The leper, the plague-stricken, and the heavy-laden knew and loved him. The hardened heart of the sinner was touched by his meek and holy devotion. In short, at all times and upon all occasions the true Friar made it his aim to live Jesus and keep His memory fresh among men; hence his life was an ever-present sermon upon the love and life

of Christ. This is the life of the Friar who has been true to the ideal of St. Francis; and the man who enters upon such a life is a Friar, whatever he may choose to call himself, for he has become in the strictest sense of the word a brother of his fellow-men. It was this idea which aroused in me the longing to give up the world."

The first convert of Mr. Stokes was a boy of the proudest caste save that of the Brahmans, a Rajput, who in spite of persecution at home espoused Christ, and was placed in an educational institution to be trained for Christian usefulness. A Christian Sadhu, or holy man, came, and taking the vows cast in his lot with the new order, and thus the Brotherhood of the Imitation of Jesus began its enrolled membership.

The best insight into the spirit and methods of "Friar" Stokes may be obtained from one of several accounts of heroic service which are contained in the record above mentioned. Every winter in India the dreaded plague begins to do its deadly work, and despite all efforts of the government its ravages destroy multitudes of people, especially in the Punjab, and as the ignorant have the belief that the authorities try to reduce the population by the use of fatal medicines, it is difficult to help them. But this seemed to Mr. Stokes to be his opportunity. "It seemed that something might be accomplished if I were to go into one of the infected villages and there try to help the people. So I took a blanket, a little water-vessel called a 'lota,' a few medicines, and my Greek New Testament, and started out to look for the proper village. I slept for the night under a tree in a field, and in the morning started across country, asking those whom I met to tell me where the plague was thought to be worst. At length I came to a village which seemed to answer my requirements. In two years nearly half the people had died. Most of those

who remained were living in huts outside the walls, fearing to enter the gates of the place. Numbers were lying sick and some were dying every day.

"I did not go directly to them, but, spreading my blanket on the ground beneath a banyan tree, got out my New Testament and began to read to myself. It is almost always better to let people come to you than to go to them. At last the headman of the village and a number of others came over to ask what I wanted and to inquire who I was. I told them that I was a 'bhagat' (a person who devotes his life to religious exercises), and that I lived, as a rule, up in the mountains, but having heard that so many were dying, my heart had been filled with pity. I had come, therefore, desiring to serve them, and had brought with me certain drugs which might be able to cure them. 'Nevertheless,' I explained, 'God curses whom He wills; we can only test the medicines, and then accept what He may give.'

"At first they seemed inclined to refuse my offer, but after some discussion told me that they had no objection to my trying my drugs upon the sick Chamars (one of the lowest castes of the Hindoos), then if none of these were injured by the drugs, they would, perhaps, let me treat some of themselves. 'And where will you lodge?' they asked. I assured them that I was quite comfortable under the tree beneath which I was then sitting, and would lodge there if they had no objection. 'And food?' they inquired. 'God can provide food,' I replied. So they let me stay.

"Leaving my New Testament and blanket beneath the tree, I went into the quarters of the low-castes to see the sick, and after finding out their condition, and when I had made friends with them, I started trying to serve them. Towards evening one of the headmen came over to the Chamars' quarter and shouted for me to come to him. I obeyed. When I arrived at the place

where he stood he looked contemptuously at me and ordered me to follow him. Wondering what this change of manner could mean, I obeyed him. When we arrived at his booth a large number of men assembled, and some began to laugh boisterously and others to sneer at me. This seemed very strange, for Hindoos are, as a rule, most courteous. Some one called out, 'Get him something to eat.' Others replied, 'No, let him eat with the sweepers.' At last, however, they brought a filthy old brass dish, and, throwing it at my feet, ordered me to wash it at the pond near by. Much puzzled at this conduct, I took up the plate and in silence went to obey them. When I had brought it back they threw some stale food into it and ordered me to eat. I did so, while they stood about and stared at me. After I had eaten and washed the dish the headmen sat down to smoke their pipes, reclining at ease upon cane chairs and upon beds, while I sat near them on the ground.

"They kept this treatment up for about three days, during which time they seemed to enjoy nothing quite so much as insulting me and ordering me about. Had not my aim been the imitation of Jesus, I should most certainly have left them and tried to find some place where they would treat me more politely. But the thought that He had been misunderstood, and set at naught and spat upon, always held me back and filled me with the desire to imitate His gentleness and patience. So I stayed and continued to work for the sick Chamars.

"Among the principal men of the place was one Daya Singh, a Sikh. When the people came to question me as I sat under the banyan tree he was among them. Of all those who seemed to take a pleasure in imposing upon me this man was probably the worst. One evening—it was the third day, I think—he called me to him as I was returning to my home beneath the tree. As

soon as I approached he began in his customary way to order me about and sneer at me, watching me closely all the while. I did what he bade me in silence, and when he asked me some questions tried to answer as humbly and gently as I thought Christ would have done. At last he ordered me sharply to go over to my tree. I started to do so, but had hardly gone ten paces when he overtook me, pulled off his turban, and laying it on my feet, bowed almost to the ground before me, exclaiming at the same time, 'Maharaj,' which means 'great king' and is the title by which bhagats are commonly addressed in Northern India. Then he walked over to the tree with me, explaining the while how the villagers had not believed that there could be bhagats among the foreigners, and how they had resolved to test me. 'Now,' he concluded, 'I know that you are truly a bhagat of God, for you are gentle, and when men insult you, you do not become angered. Moreover, you love every one, even the low-castes and the children, and speak mildly to those who torment you. Thus did Guru Nanak Dev and Raja Gopi Chand, and by this sign all bhagats may be known.'

"This is the substance of what he said, and from that time the attitude of the people became absolutely changed. One after another came to make friends with me, and every evening when work in the fields was finished, men brought their hookas (the Indian pipe) to my banyan tree, where we sat and talked for hours, while the children listened or played about.

"They no longer gave me stale food in battered vessels, but every old lady in the place vied with her neighbor in preparing good things for me. Wherever I went it was 'Salam Baba (Father), will you have some milk or buttermilk?' or, 'Salam Maharaj, can I not cook something for you?' They called me in to visit their sick, and obeyed all my directions implicitly."

It is easy to make light of the mediævalism of this young enthusiast. Many would ridicule his pose as a "Religious," as a "Holy Friar," as a "Bhagat." I am informed that some of the regular missionaries of various Churches declare that the work of Mr. Stokes is abnormal. Truly, it must be abnormal as judged from the safe-salaried, respectable positions of average Christian teachers. But the list of Christ's abnormal laborers is very honorable, containing names which are held to be very saintly, and a man who has voluntarily served the victims of Indian plague, who has given himself to nurse back to health a small-pox stricken college student, who has taken abuse silently, has lived off alms, and has performed the most menial service that he might represent the spirit of Christ, is one to be reckoned with. His brotherhood may be small, since few will be likely to follow such an example of self-abnegation, but without a doubt some permanent Christian impressions are being made. In the spring of 1911 Mr. Stokes baptized a high-caste Rajput in Kotgurh, and *The Mission Field* reports his action concerning an attack which was made upon the missionary by angered devotees of the caste-system: "Action was taken by the police against those who had been responsible for the riot and the assault on Mr. Stokes, but when the case came on in court he was allowed to compound the charge for injury, and the government, at Mr. Stokes's request and on his assurance that he believed that such a course would conduce to the peace of the district and to the termination of the present bitterness, withdrew the charge for riot. In the evening of the same day the chief offender, who had hitherto refrained from any appeal to Mr. Stokes for remission of the case, though many of his friends had pleaded for him, came and humbly asked forgiveness for the wrong which he had done. For another of his would-be murderers Mr. Stokes has succeeded in finding work in the neighborhood of Simla."

Surely this is conduct which is very Christlike. It is such an imitation of Jesus as must not only make converts, but weaken opposition of every kind. Possibly the brotherhood of Mr. Stokes may also be setting before the minds of all Christian brotherhoods the ideal of a deeper consecration to the needs of humanity and to the divine will.

The account of this altogether exceptional brotherhood may fittingly close the present outline of organized Christian work by men. Societies of many kinds have been discussed, Roman Catholic and Protestant, of all Christian Churches and of many shades of doctrinal belief. Auxiliary societies have been considered, as have been also the half-secular and secular organizations which have been built upon some phase of Christian truth or even upon error masquerading as Christian. Every effort has been made to give a fair presentation of the value of each institution studied, and the supreme thought has been to disclose without exaggeration the great part which Christian brotherhoods have taken in the work of the Church and in the progress and development of civilization. It remains to discuss the broad theme of Men and Christianity, and to strive to indicate the noble future which awaits the high talents, the courage, and the devotion of Christian brothers.

XXI

MEN AND CHRISTIANITY

It can hardly be successfully disputed that recent years have seen a great increase of religious interest on the part of men. Statistics of all Churches indicate this. Census reports and numerical tests of various kinds are added evidence. Even ordinary observation confirms the fact.

Some years since the alarming cry was raised, "Men are deserting the Church." Figures were published which would have been sufficiently startling if they had not been grossly exaggerated, as was often the case. When exact enumerations began to be made it was found that pessimism had gone too far in stating the proportion of men who never attended divine worship. The ridiculously untrue claim of ninety-three per cent of habitual absentees was often repeated by well-meaning persons of the class which never questions the validity of what is read or heard. But while such alleged statistics were soon disproved, the facts ascertained by widespread inquiry were far from satisfactory. A careful canvass of one of the largest cities showed that only one-third of the church membership was composed of men and boys. An able article on "Men in the Church," written at about the same time, said: "For years the writer of this article has been especially interested in religiously reaching men. During the last year he has sought information from both preachers and laymen of various denominations in different parts of the country, and in towns and villages as well as cities, concerning

the relative proportion of men to women in Church attendance and Church membership. The replies received to his letters of inquiry have been remarkable for their similarity. The proportions usually given are one to two, one to three, one to four. In some cases it is one to five, and in a few the proportion is even smaller. No letter has told him of an even proportion. One of the most able, distinguished, and devoted bishops of the Episcopal Church says that throughout his diocese the relative attendance of men at church is one to three, and that his confirmations show the same proportion. The nature of most of the replies received will be indicated by extracts from some of them. A young business man, earnestly religious, who has traveled all over the land, writes: 'From general observation I would say that two-thirds of the congregations are made up of women and girls. In our own church the proportion of men attending the morning service is even less, one to five.' Another says, 'Four-fifths women.' A prominent journalist and author writes, 'In Protestant Churches in Boston I should say that the congregations are composed of two women to one man.' The eloquent pastor of a prominent and historic Congregational Church in a New England city says, 'I suppose with us the general ratio, four to one, prevails; four women to one man.' A preacher who is well known throughout his city for his influence on men says, 'A congregation in which men form a proportion as large as one-third is a rare sight.' These are fair samples. The proportion of men who attend prayer-meetings is smaller than that of those who attend preaching services. The average ratio of men to women in the membership of the churches seems to be somewhat less than one to three, as indicated by many of my letters as well as by personal examination of a goodly number of church rolls. These letters also indicate that the disparity between men and women in

Church attendance and Church membership is on the increase in the many communities reported."[1]

The significant items in this account are the unfavorable general conditions reported, and the gloomy outlook of the closing sentence. About the same time Dr. Rufus W. Miller stated that "the largest proportion of non-churchgoers is found among young men. It would seem true from statistics on hand that sixty-five out of every hundred men never attend church at all."[2] In 1903 Professor Cressey had somewhat better figures: "From these investigations it appears that the large majority of young men, or 9,059,000 out of 14,250,000 are outside of Church membership. Even after allowing a large margin for those who are not members, but attend religious services at least occasionally, it is safe to say that fully one-half are wholly outside of Church fellowship or direct influence. On the other hand, it is all too evident that vast numbers of young men are leading lives of positive immorality."[3]

The new movement of men toward Christ and the Church which began in the latter part of the nineteenth century, and which was furthered by the Young Men's Christian Association, and more intimately and powerfully by the various Church Brotherhoods, continued to progress during the early years of the twentieth century until before the end of the first decade a very different coloring began to appear in discussions of this theme. Discouraging statements continued to be made occasionally, based on local observations, as when Judge Cleland of Chicago estimated that in that city seven per cent only of the men were members of the Churches.[4]

[1] J. E. C. Sawyer, D. D., in "Northern Christian Advocate."

[2] In "Why a Men's Organization?" Rufus Miller, D. D., founder of the Brotherhood of Andrew and Philip.

[3] "Church and Young Men," p. 5.

[4] Quoted by Rev. Frank Dyer, "Congregationalist and Christian at Work," 1908.

Very likely this excellent jurist was misled in part, and probably the actual condition in Chicago at the time was not quite so bad as was the showing on which he based his remark. At all events very careful investigations in other cities gave ground for encouragement, though at about the same date Washington Gladden said: "The brotherhood in every Congregational Church ought to face the fact that two-thirds of our members are women. It is abnormal and shameful; it is contrary to nature and a scandal to the Church. There is something wrong about a religion that attracts only half as many men as women. There are a million and a half more men than women in the United States, and no reason can be suggested why the sexes should not be equally represented in the Church. We have none too many women, and no words can tell the debt we owe to them, but a preponderance of female influence in the Church or anywhere else in society is unnatural and injurious."[5]

In spite of the form of this statement it will be noted that its claims for the proportion of men in Church membership is much larger than were those of an earlier period, and that a few years later the ratio of the sexes in the matter of attendance at worship was giving much cause for encouragement was indicated by the following editorial: "There is a widespread, well-nigh universal impression that Church attendance is rapidly decreasing, and that this is especially characteristic of the attendance of men. Prevalent impressions are very dangerous, as they are so often incorrect. We believe that if the facts be ascertained both of these impressions would be proved untrue. Let us refer in this connection to two striking facts. If there is any place where it would be thought that these prevalent impressions were true, it would be in the larger cities, and especially in New York, the largest. But fortunately facts are at

[5] Ut supra.

hand about New York. Each year since 1901 the Church News Association of New York has counted the attendance of men, members, and Sunday school children at the churches in New York. The recent count shows that in the last ten years the attendance has increased eight per cent, and of men fourteen per cent. The Association reports also that the number of men who attend special services, especially noonday ones, is rapidly increasing, as is the number of men ready to do permanent work on Sundays instead of attending merely the public morning service of worship. This is reflected in the growth of the attendance at early services. And if there is any one place where it would be thought women would greatly outnumber men, it would be at a fortnight's Lenten mission. But what are the facts? At a great Lenten mission carried on for two weeks in the city of Toronto recently, to deepen the spiritual life of the parishes in the city, there was an average attendance every night of ten thousand, and of these the majority were men."[6]

But in spite of the reassuring symptoms thus described the condition was not yet pleasing to the Church. "Women and girls," it was said, "outnumber the men and boys in the Christian Churches of North America by the somewhat startling figure of three million. No one would wish to see the situation reversed, observes Mr. Charles W. Gilkey, but the present disparity needs amending."[7]

During the years from 1908 to 1912 several important men's movements were inaugurated. A federation of the Protestant brotherhoods, for mutual information and for co-operation in undertakings of common interest or of public welfare, was formed at a meeting held in Chicago, January 23, 1908. From the inspira-

[6] "St. Andrew's Cross," June, 1911.

[7] "Literary Digest," February 25, 1911.

tion of this initial union of spirit and plan, without organic union, valuable results came which seemed destined to lead to issues of vital moment to the success of Christ's Kingdom. The Young Men's Christian Association, the Brotherhood of St. Andrew, the Methodist, Baptist, Presbyterian, and the Congregational Brotherhoods were represented in this inception of federated activity of churchmen, and the societies thus joined were the sustaining force in later general men's movements. Of scarcely less importance to religious life was the American Federation of Catholic Societies to which reference has been already made, which was instituted earlier but was made more powerful about this time by the affiliation with the other Catholic societies of the Knights of Columbus. A laymen's missionary movement was inaugurated in 1909, and in many cities and towns of North America conventions were held with the object of increasing the contributions of the Churches to the cause of missions. The Men and Religion Forward Movement of 1911-1912 was a propaganda "in behalf of the Christian life of the men and boys of North America." The organizations participating in this widely advertised and strongly financed undertaking, which held institutes of religious education in seventy-five cities, were the following church brotherhoods and auxiliary and interdenominational men's societies: Brotherhood of Andrew and Philip, the Baptist Brotherhood, Congregational Brotherhood of America, Brotherhood of Disciples of Christ, the Gideons, the International Committee of Young Men's Christian Associations of North America, the International Sunday School Association, the Lutheran Brotherhood, the Methodist Brotherhood, the Otterbein Brotherhood, the Presbyterian Brotherhood of America, Brotherhood of St. Andrew, the United Presbyterian Brotherhood.

The stated objective of the Men and Religion For-

ward Movement contained these items: "1. Men's Christian Organizations: To leave with every men's Christian organization a worthy and workable plan of specialized effort for men and boys. 2. Literature: To assemble and publish a statement of the most approved methods of religious work for men and boys. 3. Evangelism: To win to Christ and the Church the largest possible number of men and boys by May 1, 1912. 4. Bible Study: To greatly increase the enrollment in Bible classes. 5. Missionary: To continue and increase the emphasis of the Christian religion as the one and only hope of the world, and to make abiding the missionary enterprises of the Church at home and abroad. 6. Service: To reveal the program of Jesus Christ in the world in such a manner that the strongest men will volunteer for life service in the Church. This service to include a Christian investment of time, personal talents, and money. 7. Civic Betterment: To make a permanent contribution to the best life of the continent, social, political, commercial, and physical. 8. Public Worship: To exalt the spiritual power of the public worship of God."[8]

A significant declaration of the leaders of the Men and Religion Movement, adopted at the Buffalo (New York) Conference, which virtually inaugurated the undertaking, was that "we emphasize our belief in the Church of Jesus Christ as the one instrumentality appointed by Him for the salvation of the world." Institutes were conducted by selected teams composed of enthusiastic men of various specialties and degrees of ability, who discussed, largely before audiences of selected churchmen, the themes stated in the objective above outlined. These men, aided by local leaders, conducted shop, hotel, school, and open-air meetings, as well as evangelistic services in churches and in halls.

[8] Prospectus, "Men and Religion Forward Movement."

The week spent in each place visited was concluded with recommendations formally stated by the team concerning the future work of the churches of that town. Auxiliary meetings were held in the smaller places surrounding the centers visited by the regular teams. Results, of course, varied greatly in different localities, but the relation of men to the Church and to the Kingdom of Christ was widely advertised and considered, and while the movement did not pass without criticism, high authorities, both religious and secular, stated that in their judgment the interest and training of churchmen was stimulated, and the tide of men which is setting Christward was accelerated.

The permanent agencies are, of course, those which are to be relied on for continued growth of the Christian Kingdom. The work of men is best furthered within the Church itself by laymen's associations, local brotherhoods, and men's Bible classes, and the labors of these organizations are supplemented by the constant co-operation of brotherhood federations and by such societies as the Young Men's Christian Associations, the Anti-Saloon and Civic Leagues, and the Gideons. Movements, so-called, pass over the surface of life like waves. When they have passed, comes the trough, and then another wave. The tide is produced by the constant operation of Christian influence upon the minds of men, and the activities of the regular institutions of the Church are the streams which bear fullness to the ocean of evangelistic success, of religious development, and of abiding usefulness.

Taking everything into account, then, there is good reason to rejoice in the new and more definite and effective relations of men to the Church and to the cause and work of Christ as represented in His Church. Truly the Church, in what *in esse* and *in actu* it is, must be regarded by every impartial student of the New Testament

as being God's one and only means of redeeming the world. It is no accident that He has said to the Church: "Ye are My witnesses;" "Ye are the salt of the earth;" "Ye are the light of the world." The Church is Christ's body: He is in the Church; He is its Head; through the Church He is working out His will and purpose in the world. Men are coming to have a profound realization of this truth, and with it a sense of the personal responsibility which rests upon them as members of the Lord's body. They begin to see that they have a personal obligation to co-operate in the divine work for their own salvation, since, as St. Austin so truly said, *"Qui fecit nos sine nobis, non salvabit nos sine nobis."* Men are coming more fully to realize also that they actually and effectually are in great part their brothers' keepers, but that in many instances they are keeping their brothers out of the Kingdom of God, instead of keeping them out of the power and doom of the devil. This accounts for the emphasis now laid upon personal and social evangelism, on the one hand by such writings as those of Wood, the Trumbulls, Begbie, Jowett, Sayford, and Johnston,[9] and also by the works of sociologists and reformers like Ely, Rauschenbusch, Gladden, Strong, Peabody, Cunningham, Stelzle, and Earp.[10] To the question, Shall we work on the individual or shall we devote ourselves to improving his environment by education, by philanthropy, and by good laws? the an-

[9] "Winning Men One by One," H. Wellington Wood. "Individual Work for Individuals," H. Clay Trumbull, and "Taking Men Alive," Charles Gallaudet Trumbull. "Twice-Born Men" and "Souls in Action," Howard Begbie. "Passion for Souls," J. H. Jowett. "Personal Work," S. M. Sayford. "Studies for Personal Workers," Howard Agnew Johnston.

[10] "Social Aspects of Christianity," Richard T. Ely. "Christianity and the Social Crisis," Walter Rauschenbusch. "Christianity and Socialism," Washington Gladden. "Religious Movements for Social Betterment," Josiah Strong. "Jesus Christ and the Social Question," F. G. Peabody. "Christianity and Social Question," W. Cunningham. "Social Service Studies," Charles Stelzle. "The Social Engineer," Edwin L. Earp.

swer is returned, In the name of Christ we will do both, since what is the life of man in an evil world and what is the life of the world if man is evil?

Men have discovered and the fact is attractive to them that Christianity means a fight, that its object is war *a la outrance*. As the author of this book said in a former work: "Jesus Christ will never be made King by waving banners, by rallying cries, or by singing Coronation. Battles must be waged against the devil: there must be mighty conflicts with sin, and magnificent and costly victories must be won over the powers which enthrall men and keep them from serving Christ. The warfare of Christianity is one of love, and not of slaughter; no less on that account does it require courage, ability, and devotion. Many will yet lay down their lives for it, and many more will lay down a life on this altar. But it is the King's cause, and will triumph."[11]

That victories of Christian principle and zeal need not be deferred until the ultimate and universal conquest to be made by the Lord of Hosts is being proved in various places by civic and social undertakings of church brotherhoods and federations. In a way sometimes feeble and tentative, and sometimes aggressive and vigorous, at least for a time, churchmen are testing their strength and are finding what they can do singly and in combination. The slumbering giant of Christian self-consciousness and of moral purpose has been aroused, and not knowing as yet that it is a giant, it begins to stretch its limbs, and occasionally to strike out. Aimlessly and ineffectively, like the blows of infants, many of its strokes fall upon the foes of righteousness,

[11] "Every Day Evangelism," pp. 204 and 205. "'The army that remains in the trenches is beaten,' says a military expert, and this is certainly true of the Church of Christ. It must do or die. It must go forward, or its soldiers become weak and cowardly. But if the charge be sounded and the conflict pressed, the God of battles may be relied upon to give the victory and to multiply the spoils." Ibid, p. 55.

but the sense of weakness is passing, and clearness of perception, both of social conditions and of their remedies, is fast coming. The day is not far off when the Christian will and determination are to lay firm hold of political, industrial, and ethical evils and to destroy them.

In not a few cases local societies of churchmen have wrought a work which has astonished the community. Revivals of religion and transformations of church activities have been caused by the new spirit and by the labors of such organizations, and in not a few instances reforms have been instituted and good laws enacted. A specific and typical instance of social betterment through the efforts of the local brotherhoods occurred in a town of Montana in 1911. The saloons of Missoula, the seat of the University of Montana, had been growing very troublesome on account of late hours and Sunday traffic. It was thought by the best citizens that something should be done to secure quiet Sundays. On October 17th a city paper had an article of over a column under the caption, "People to Demand Sunday Closing; Mass-meeting of Churchmen Results in Organized Effort Favoring Ordinance." This report said, "The first organized movement was launched at the mass-meeting of churchmen at the Christian Church, the meeting having been held under the auspices of the federated Church brotherhoods of Missoula."[12] Dr. J. E. Kirkwood, professor of Botany in the university, and prominent in the Methodist Brotherhood, presided, and committees were appointed on petitions, and on presentation to the city council of the demand of the people for Sunday closing of saloons. A hundred of the men present pledged themselves to attend the council meetings and to support the committee. On October 19th the same paper in over three columns reported, "Churches Show

[12] "The Missoulian," October 17, 1911.

Strength in Fight to Close Saloons on Seventh Day; City Government Listens to Arguments in Favor of Dry Sundays." The earnest speeches delivered by representatives of the church brotherhoods were published at length. October 20th the heading was "Missoula's Council Procrastinates." Petitions, agitation, and pressure increased, and the next day, October 21st, exactly four days from the date of the federated mass-meetings, after a busy fight which stirred the city to its depths the news was, "Ordinance is Passed; Unanimous Vote in City Council Makes Measure a Law." The brotherhoods were surprised at the promptness and completeness of their triumph, and, as in other instances of a similar nature, they were strengthened in confidence and in determination to assert themselves in behalf of righteousness.

Not long before the above occurrence a brotherhood magazine contained an account of a legislative victory won principally by the efforts of a single church brotherhood. "What may be accomplished by the Church through wisely directed effort was never better exemplified than in Minnesota. For years spasmodic efforts have been made in the Legislature to enact a law relaxing the brutal and antiquated method of dealing with petty offenders and permitting the more humane probation or suspended sentence rule to be invoked, but in the rush of legislation and conflict of other interests little progress was made. Finally the Brotherhood of Park Congregational Church of St. Paul invited Judge Finehout to address its members upon this subject, which he did in October, 1908. It was then decided to arouse interest on this subject in the three large cities, Minneapolis, St. Paul, and Duluth, and to secure, if possible, the co-operation of the legislative delegations from the three counties. Judge Cleland, of Chicago, gladly accepted an urgent invitation to address a mass-meeting,

and in December, before a congregation that filled Park Church, he delivered an address not only highly interesting and instructive, but a revelation to those fortunate enough to hear it. Following his address, which was held under the auspices of the Park Brotherhood, a meeting, presided over by Judge Finehout, was held, at which were present a large number of the leading business and professional men. At this meeting the Minnesota Probation League was organized. Enthusiastic support was assured from Minneapolis, Duluth, and other parts, and a committee, consisting of Assistant Attorney General Peterson, Judge Waite of the Municipal Court of Minneapolis, and Judge Finehout of St. Paul, was appointed to draft an adult probation suspended sentence law. Judge Waite is not only known as an able, efficient judge, but a deep student, and has been for a long time an earnest advocate of the suspended sentence. It was through his efforts that the Social Science Club of Minneapolis and many prominent charity workers in that city were interested, and by their efforts gave efficient aid in the passage of this law. A satisfactory bill was drafted and introduced into the Legislature. On account of the splendid support, through the interest aroused by the Brotherhood, early in April it became a law through the signature of the late Governor Johnson. Judge Finehout reports that during the first nine months in which this law has been in effect, out of two hundred and seven cases in only seventeen was it necessary to enforce the suspended sentence or did the report from the probation officers show that the probation had been ineffective in securing the reform desired.[18]

The earliest social achievements of modern church brotherhoods taught them the value of co-operation in

[18] "The Brotherhood Star," June, 1911, "Minnesota Brotherhood Wins a Brotherly Law."

civic undertakings. The Better Brattleboro Campaign, described elsewhere in this volume, leagued together the various churchmen's organizations of the community and used them as a compact force standing together in behalf of goodness. Other similar successes were won in the same way, and the present development of the idea of Christian federation for social service is such as to give expectation of exceptional progress in community building. The time threatens to arrive when the saloon will no longer be the political unit of society. The church brotherhood or club may take its place if it wills to do so, and the imagination thrills with the picture of what will happen when Christianity exerts the power which it possesses and that which it can ally with itself when it forms a definite program and asserts its strength. When the effects of the partisan chloroform by which Christian men have long been lulled into moral inactivity have passed away, and when the mutual jealousies of the Churches are overcome by one absorbing passion for the Kingdom of Christ, great burdens of wrong will be lifted, and deadly vices will be swept away by the expression of an undivided and indivisible Christian sentiment and sense.

The thought Men and Christianity implies the conception of Brotherhood, an ideal in which the highest humanity and the Christianity of Jesus Christ are one, but to which man never comes without the aid of the Divine Spirit. But Christian brotherhood needs to be defined in modern terms, and to be expressed in concrete and practical forms. Country churches are not unwise, nor are they untrue to their high calling in displaying intelligent interest in the work of agriculture. The convention speaker reported Christian work who said, "The Presbyterian Church at Vincennes, Ind., has undertaken as one of its side issues the maintaining of the farmers' institute, which had fallen into disuse in

that community, and has created out of nothing a populous and influential school of scientific farming." "The relations between the rural economy and the country Church," he said, "are so delicate and so intimate that the one can more than double the value of the other."[14] Without a doubt the Church of Christ ought to be an economic force in every community, not only furnishing moral equipment for the most effective work, but, if possible, helping the worker to obtain whatever knowledge or skill will enable him to make the most of his opportunities.

It is not a matter of indifference to Christianity whether or not men are profitably employed, or whether they are employed or not. The nature, profitableness, and permanency of the occupations which men pursue have marked effects upon their character and deeds.[15] Speaking of the apprehension of loss of work, and therefore of income, on the part of a large class of toilers, Professor Rauschenbusch says, "Constant insecurity and fear pervading the entire condition of the working people is like a corrosive chemical that disintegrates their self-respect." He recalls also his observation of the effect of financial stringency upon moral conduct: "During the great industrial crisis in the 90's I saw good men go into disreputable lines of employment." "One could hear human virtue crumbling and cracking all

[14] "Presbyterian Men," p. 134. Address of Warren H. Wilson, Ph. D., at the St. Louis Convention, Presbyterian Brotherhood.

[15] That the Church should take in hand the ethics of business is earnestly taught by Washington Gladden in "The Labor Question," pp. 158-9. "It will be admitted," he says, "that the chief interest of the Church is in character. Its business in the world is primarily the production of good character, the building up of sound, clear, upright, neighborly men. In this commercial age such character is mainly made or lost in the pursuits of industry. Whether a business man becomes a good man or not, depends mainly on the way in which he manages his business. The Church has in her membership hundreds of thousands of men whose characters are being formed by their business practices. She owes to these the instruction and the moral guidance by which they may be saved from the fatal losses of manhood to which they are exposed, and established in virtue and honor."

around."[16] It is very easy, but it is not very Christian, to condemn this weakness; moreover, it is well to labor for the removal of the occasion of evil-doing, even though it is believed that the cause lies deeper. And he who would reach the hearts of men with the transforming power of Christ may find that the surest way to accomplish this is by seeking to aid the worker in his work or in getting work. "In Rochester," says Professor Graham Taylor, "the men were out of work for many months. A Young Men's Christian Association man went around with a petition to get the city to put the unemployed at some needed public work. He happened into a labor meeting. They did n't know him, nor he them, but they were talking about him. One man said: "It seems to me as though Jesus Christ had died again. Nobody seems to care whether we or our families have any living or not. But I heard that a Young Men's Christian Association man is getting out a petition to have the city put a lot of us to work. Boys, Jesus Christ must have come to life again. He must have risen from the dead again."[17]

The conditions under which business and labor are done need the attention of Christian experts. Somehow the way of living must be made more compatible with the "way of life." This is true both as to questions of honesty and as to class obligation. The loss in human kindliness and in fellowship by reason of the misunderstandings between capital and labor is one of the chief obstacles to Christian progress. The Church can not overcome this by ignoring or by belittling the issue, by hiding its head in the sand, or by giving missionary teas. For his own soul's sake the Church must teach altruism to the capitalist and employer. He can not be

[16] "Christianity and the Social Crisis," op. cit., pp. 237, 238.

[17] "Men and Religion," published for the Men and Religion Forward Movement, p. 154.

saved without loving his brother, nor will he love his brother unless the Church loves him, and seeks to understand his many problems and to help him to solve them. Men are looking to Christianity for light and for leading. They expect to be taught how to do justice to each other and to all men—how to be brothers. Not all really wish the truth, or welcome it when it comes; but they expect to receive it from the Church of Christ, and gradually it leavens the mass. The church brotherhood which doles out charity but does not teach brotherhood is in a little business. The great task of Christianity is to teach men to live together. The great task is not to teach divinity, but right relations. As Dr. McConnell has said, "The Church can get along with fewer arguments about the divineness of Christianity, if she can prevail upon men to assume that Christ is the way, the truth, and the life, and to walk therein."[18]

Socialism? Yes, but what socialism? Socialism seems to many to be coming fast. Therefore they are asking, Is it to be purely economic or ethical, materialistic or spiritual? Are we to have the socialism of organized selfishness or the socialism of Christian philanthropy?

Certainly the Church must see, as Professor Eucken says, "with the socialist solution (of the problem of life) we must indeed join issue. From the philosophical point of view it merits the sharpest criticism. All thought and all effort are made to serve the one end of satisfying the loud demand of the masses for a larger

[18] "Religious Certainty," President Francis J. McConnell, p. 108. "She ought to look upon herself as a laboratory for practice in righteousness, for out of righteousness comes that abiding and increasing certainty of the presence of God which nothing can shake." Dr. Grenfell, in "What the Church Means to Me," p. 13, says, "That which attracts to a Church to-day is not higher criticism, elaborate ritual, hair-splitting creeds, but fearless fighting for public health, for good government, for righteous labor conditions, for clean courts of justice."

share of power and happiness, and the scope of human experience is thus unduly narrowed. Socialism, by eagerly seizing and using everything that promises to further its main end, takes up and masses together quite uncritically the most diverse and even contradictory systems. Materialism and sensualism of the shallowest kind find favor because they seem to be subversive of the traditional religion, and yet these movements in themselves, being products of an over-ripe civilization, are certainly not adapted to the task of fostering enthusiasm for new ideals."[19] But without new and spiritual ideals and aspirations man degenerates and society decays.

Very profound students may be quoted who believe that the only way to prevent the Socialism of Karl Marx, which bases the whole character of life upon economic relations, from sweeping through the world and from overthrowing not merely capitalism, but the most valued institutions of society, is to hasten forward the day and deeds of the socialism of Jesus Christ. A world-wide brotherhood, which finds its inspiration in the obligations and sanctions of Christianity, and which seeks not merely universal prosperity, but that substantial goodness of heart without which material wealth is a curse, alone will produce a type of society satisfactory to men and permanent in its gifts to human life.

The problem of Christian brotherhood and of Christian citizenship is a problem of recruiting for Christ. Therefore the first business of the Church is to bring Christ and men together. The earlier part of this discussion indicated that progress is being made in men's evangelism. Causes of indifference to religion have been studied with a view to a better understanding of conditions and forces which keep men out of the Church

[19] "The Problem of Human Life," Rudolf Eucken, pp. 547-8.

and out of the reach of the gospel. It has been found that the census does not explain the preponderance of women in church attendance and membership, since this occurs in communities in which men largely predominate. "The remark of male conceit that men are more intellectual than women, and so are slower to yield to the mysteries of faith, does not explain it; for college records do not warrant the claim of man's superiority."[20] The charge of lack of masculinity in the pulpit receives scant credence from those who are widely acquainted with modern preachers. Many thoughtful persons find the answer to their quest concerning the absence of large numbers of men from the Church in the greater temptations than those of women to which they are subjected from boyhood, in the absorptions of business in an age of closest competitions, in the aggressiveness of substitutes for Christian brotherhood such as clubs, lodges, and secular societies,[21] in the inconsistencies of men in the Church whose lives, as they daily witness them, are patterned after the Daniel Drew philosophy, that "a good tree may have crooked roots," in the alleged necessity for the practice of anti-Christian principles in trade and in the professions. Probably some one or more of these ideas may furnish illumination to those who think upon this subject, but experience teaches that despite all criticism and restraints the Church gets men when the men of the Church combine and go after them. "Go ye," is the divinely appointed method of evangelism, and Church brotherhoods have always found that obedience to the divine calling to personal evangelism is the effective means of adding to their

[20] "Letters on Evangelism," Bishop Edwin H. Hughes, p. 88.

[21] "A Young Man's Questions," Robert E. Speer, pp. 48-9. "They are no substitutes for the Church. They have all the defects alleged against the Church without its virtues, and every reason for not joining the Church urged by their members is ignored in joining them."

own membership and to the number of the servants of Christ.

But individualism is under attack. The theory is that time spent on single souls is lost: we are to be soldiers of the common good, centering all on the mass, laboring only for general results. Despite the element of truth which underlies this conception of the need of the hour it must be strongly condemned. "In resisting this horrible theory of the Soul of the Hive," says Mr. Chesterton, "we of Christendom stand not for ourselves, but for all humanity; for the essential and distinctive human idea that one good and happy man is an end in himself, that a soul is worth saving."[22] Jesus Christ orientated Himself in the sphere of individualism, and He has moved greater masses and His influence has produced more universal good than has resulted from any other life. His disciples will do well to follow Him, in method as well as in spirit.

If anywhere personal evangelism has been at all thorough and persistent it is in the home, in the Sunday school, and in the college; and it is this work, as tested in the universities, which shows the most reassuring gains in the proportion of men who have accepted Christ. A very careful writer says that every year the proportion of students who are Christians when entering college rises. If this is true, even of a majority of years, it is an encouraging sign of good influence in the homes and churches represented by these students. The same author reports a careful census taken in three hundred and fifty-six colleges and universities of North America, and which showed that of eighty-three thousand young men attending these institutions fifty-two per cent were members of evangelical Churches. The year previous a canvass of the men seniors of sixty-four

[22] "What's Wrong With the World?" G. K. Chesterton, p. 333.

colleges showed that seventy-four per cent of them were professing Christians.[23] If a similar ratio of increase in the senior class applies to all the institutions of higher learning, it must be that the personal effort for individuals encouraged by the college associations and churches is taking effect. John R. Mott is quoted as saying, "The colleges and universities constitute without doubt the most religious communities in our country," and if the men of the colleges are being won for Christ, the fact is an augury of the future conquest by Christianity of all classes of men.

The brotherhoods of the Churches and their auxiliaries and federations are a force which is equal to the issues of a new Christian crusade passing all knightly contests and glories. The peril of these organizations is that their nature and work may become more social than fraternal or evangelistic; their apotheosis will be in a New Devotion surpassing that of à Kempis and Francis in its diffusion among the members of the body, as well as in its constant loyalty to the person and call of Jesus, and which will lay hold of destructive human forces and turn them into the instruments of the eternal will. "Passions that are working havoc and ruin are to be made the nourishers of fine endeavor and holy work. All men's gifts and powers, and all material forces are to be used in the employment of the Kingdom of God."[24] Is this an ideal and a dream? At least it is a good ideal, and the Dream is Divine. It is something for which they cry to God who believe that

[23] "The Churches and Educated Men," E. N. Hardy, pp. 187-201. The chapters on "The Modern Awakening" and "The Present Outlook" are very encouraging.

[24] "The Passion for Souls," J. H. Jowett, p. 126. Bishop J. F. Berry's movement to pledge Methodist Episcopal laymen to definite acts of devotion was one of many recent valuable attempts, made in various Churches, to actualize the latter sentence of this quotation.

orare est laborare. Moreover, they toil for this who stand in the hard places in the centers of strife betwixt good and evil, and who need the encouragement of others who have been convinced of the wisdom and of the hopefulness of the effort. Καὶ σύ ποτε ἐπιστρέψας στήριξον τοὺς ἀδελφούς σου. Thus, in mutual confidence, in strong determination, and in the masterful leading of the Son of God, will be brought

> "To see and hear and aid God's worship
> Unnumbered tongues, a host of Christian men."

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